

The Classical Review

OCTOBER 1906.

THE current year sees the completion of the second decade of the *Classical Review*, and its close seems an appropriate time for the introduction of changes which it is believed will increase its usefulness and popularity. These changes, outlined in a circular of the publisher with which most, if not all, of our readers have already been made acquainted, involve its division into two parts. An issue of one or other of these will appear in each month of the year—of one, the *Classical Quarterly*, in January April July and October; of the other, the new *Classical Review*, in the eight remaining months. The *Classical Quarterly* and the *Classical Review* will be complementary to each other and will between them cover the whole ground occupied by the existing Review. But it is designed in addition that in the *Classical Review* there shall be a fuller representation of the literary and the educational sides of the Classics.

In token that no violent change is contemplated the present Editor will remain as editor of the *Classical Quarterly*, and assist in editing the *Classical Review*, which will be under the chief direction of Dr. W. H. D. ROUSE. It is hoped furthermore that the Associate Editors, both English and American, will continue to collaborate. In addition to the Editors the *Classical Review* will have the advantage of the services of an Advisory Committee, now in process of formation, which will include the names of

Professor MACKAIL, Mr. T. E. PAGE, Mr. V. RENDALL, and others.

Further particulars will be announced in our November issue.

The Classical Association holds its fourth General Meeting in Manchester on the 11th, 12th, and 13th of October with the welcome of the City and the University. To the general regret Lord Curzon, the President for 1906, is unable to attend and deliver his presidential address. The Master of the Rolls, the first President of the Association, will preside at the meetings, and another learned judge and Vice-President, Mr. Justice Kennedy, will give an address on the afternoon of the 12th. The programme includes short lectures on literary topics by Professors Postgate, Rhys Roberts and Conway, and another on 'A Buceranium from the Dictæan Cave in Crete' by Professor Boyd Dawkins; also what promises to be an interesting discussion on 'The relative functions of Classical and modern languages in Secondary Education.' The most important piece of business is the consideration of a Committee's report upon the Pronunciation of Latin. Their recommendations tally with those of the scheme, already printed in the *Classical Review* of April, p. 146, which it is proposed to introduce into Oxford and Cambridge teaching simultaneously in the present term. Visits and excursions to places of interest inside Manchester and outside it have also been arranged.

THE HOMERIC ASSEMBLIES AND ARISTOTLE.

τοῦτο (sc. τὸ ἡγούμενον) γὰρ τὸ προαιρούμενον. δῆλον δὲ τοῦτο καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀρχαίων πολιτειῶν, ὡς Ὅμηρος ἐμμείτο· οἱ γὰρ βασιλεῖς ἂν προέλουτο ἀνῆγγελλον τῷ δήμῳ. *Nicomachean Ethics* 1113a.

No commentator on Aristotle seems to question this last statement, and Buchholz in his voluminous *Homerische Realien* quotes it with no criticism except that Nitzsch considers it too general. But is the statement true that Homer represents the people as meeting simply to receive the commands of the princes?

(1) At the opening of the *Iliad*, after the plague has raged in the camp for nine days, Achilles calls an assembly of the soldiery. This, at least, was for deliberation; the council had not met, the commander-in-chief does not seem to have been consulted, and no one had an order to promulgate. The question before them is what shall be done in order to secure relief from the plague, and Achilles proposes that they seek to learn from some seer the cause of the god's anger. No one raises the point of order that this matter belongs to the council of Elders or to the commander-in-chief, and not to the people. (2) After the meeting of the council on the first day of battle, another assembly is held which indeed at first seems to be for the purpose of making known to all the council's decision to arm the soldiers for battle. But Agamemnon, far from presenting the plan as voted by the council, says nothing about a previous discussion and decision, and closes his speech with the exhortation: 'Come! as I say, let all obey! Let us return with our ships to our native land.' To say, with Fanta, that this assembly is not for deliberation, but for a trial of the sentiment of the soldiery, is misleading. The men start for the ships before another word is said,—no formal vote was usual in an Homeric assembly,—but are brought back to the agora, and Odysseus and Nestor propose plans for action which are adopted. (3) On the next following morning, a Trojan herald comes to the Greek camp to ask for a truce for the burial of the dead, and to offer a proposition of Paris, looking toward peace. The Achaeans are assembled at the stern of Agamemnon's ship (H 383), i.e. at the door of his tent. After hearing the message, Diomed states his opinion, and 'all the the sons of the Achaeans shout in approval.' Agamemnon

understands this as a *viva voce* vote, settling the question, and says to the Trojan herald, 'You yourself hear the answer of the Achaeans.' (4) At the close of the second day of battle, the heralds call an assembly (I 11), which is distinguished from the council of Elders (I 89) held later, not before it. Here again no order is to be promulgated, but again Agamemnon urges the return to Argos. Diomed rebukes him severely, and the proposition is withdrawn; Nestor directs the stationing of a guard, and asks that a meeting of the Elders be held. (5) Again, at the opening of the last day of battle, all the Achaeans come together (T 45) simply to witness the reconciliation between Achilles and Agamemnon. No orders are to be promulgated. (6) Finally after the capture of Troy, the sons of Atreus call an assembly at evening (γ 137),—not to give directions, but laying their matter of dispute before the soldiery in order to secure a decision between two plans: Menelaus desiring to hasten home, while Agamemnon thought it better to remain and offer propitiatory sacrifices to Athena. The adherents show their mind by departing,—a literal and effective 'division' of the people. In no instance, then, is an Achaean assembly called that the people may learn the will of the chieftains.

As for the Assemblies of the Trojans. (1) Coming as ambassadors of the Achaeans to demand the return of Helen, before the actual beginning of hostilities, Menelaus and Odysseus state their case before the assembled Trojans (Γ 209), who must have been gathered to decide between war and peace, not simply to gratify their curiosity. At this meeting of the people, Antimachus, who was not one of the princes, urged that the envoys be put to death, and not allowed to return to the Achaean camp (Λ 123, 139); that is, a debate was held and different propositions were made, concluding with the decision to refuse the demand of the envoys but to allow them to depart. (2) Before the first battle of the *Iliad*, the Trojans are assembled before the gates of Priam's palace (B 788). The subject of discussion does not appear, but no orders are mentioned as given; when this assembly is dismissed, the men hasten to take their arms, but this is because of the tidings brought of the Achaeans' approach. (3) At the close of that day's battle, they are gathered again by the gate

of Priam, in confusion and fear because of the unexpected strength shown by the Achaeans (H 345),—evidently met for a discussion of the situation. Antenor proposes to surrender Helen and her possessions; Paris refuses to give up Helen, but consents to surrender the treasures. Then Priam directs the herald to bear to the Achaean camp the proposition of Paris, and to ask for a truce for the burial of the dead. In one sense this is an order, but it is a result of the assembly,—the people were not called together to hear it. In modern parlance one might say that Antenor offered a motion to give up Helen and her treasures; that Paris then proposed an amendment to the motion, and Priam declared the motion adopted as amended. If Priam did not care for the vote, or at least to know the mind of the people, he would have settled the question in private. He gives no commands to the assembly. (4) On the next following morning, the Trojans assemble again to hear the reply of the Achaeans and to act accordingly (H 414). (5) The Trojan soldiers are called to an assembly on the field at the close of the third day of battle (Σ 245). This can be for nothing but deliberation. Pulydamas urges that they should return to the city; but Hector insists that they remain by the Greek camp,—saying indeed that he will not allow anything else,—and he has the whole army with him (ἐπὶ δὲ Τρῶες κελεύσσαν). 'Pallas Athene took from them their senses, for they praised Hector though he devised an evil plan, while no one praised Pulydamas who framed excellent counsel.' Here Pulydamas makes a motion which is rejected under the influence of Hector.

In the assembly of Ithacans (β 10 ff.),

the old Aegyptius who speaks first, expects not orders but information. He asks who has brought them together. 'Has this man tidings of the return of our army, or does he lay some other matter of public interest before us?' Telemachus then asks the people to relieve him from the oppression of his mother's suitors, but lays no commands upon the assembly,—which would be futile. This assembly is summarily dismissed by one of Penelope's suitors, who tells the people to go to their homes and leave Telemachus to the care of his friends, and they think it wise to do so.

The Homeric poems tell of two other popular assemblies,—one at Mycenae to determine the sending of troops against Thebes (Δ 380), where the men of Mycenae (not the king) 'were willing' to grant the request; and the other of the Phaeacians (θ 5), where Odysseus is introduced by Alcinoüs, who begins, 'Hear me, that I may say what my soul in my breast bids me,' which does not sound like the promulgation of a formal order.

The importance attached to oratory (θ 170), the epithet of Nestor, 'The clear-voiced man of the assembly' (A 248), and the epithet of the assembly itself (κυδάνειραν A 490), all imply that the people were gathered for deliberation. Nestor's oratory was useful for persuasion, not simply for the conveyance of commands.

Thus the Homeric assembly of the people is clearly for deliberation and action, even in the midst of a military campaign, when the discipline is necessarily stricter than at home in time of peace, and Aristotle's statement or comparison is inaccurate.

THOMAS DAY SEYMOUR.

A PECULIARITY OF CHORIC RESPONSION.

'REIM' is the name given by Karl Frey *Aeschylus-Studien* 41-3 to a 'Wiederholung nicht nur von Worten, sondern von Vokalen und Consonanten oder sogar der Verbindung gleicher Vokale, und zwar wie man erwartet da, wo auch eine Wiederholung der Quantität stattfindet, in den Chören.' He was, as far as I know, the first to point this out¹

¹ As a constant practice, I mean: I cannot trace all the sporadic notices of single instances, e.g. Heimsöth *Wiederherstellung* 56, Verrall 'On a Chorus of the Choephoroe' (*Journal of Philology* ix).

and to maintain that it was not due to accident: his tabulation admits of more analytic statement and, as it refers only to Aeschylus, of amplification.

I.—*Responson of Words.*

(a) the same word or words common
Cho. 319 = 336 ὁμοίως.

(b) different forms of the same word *Cho.*
45 φοβοῦμαι = 56 φοβέται.

(c) similar words (akin to II a b) *Cho.* 28
ἔφλαδον = 38 ἐλακον.

(d) different forms of similar words Eur. *Hipp.* 533 ἴησιν = 543 ἰοντα.

(e) similar forms of different words Cho. 27 ἰφασμάτων = 37 ὀνειράτων (may be reduced to II a).

(f) the same word-combination (subdivisible as above¹); generally interjections.

(g) similar word-combinations (subdivisible as above¹) Cho. 381 Ζεῦ Ζεῦ = 395 φεῦ φεῦ.

(h) words of different sound but of the same, similar, or contrasted sense (not found in Aeschylus) Eur. *Hec.* 927 ἐς εὐνὰν = 937 ἀκοίταν.

II.—Responsion of Vowels and Consonants.

(a) the same vowels or consonants Aesch. *Supp.* 118 πάθεα μέλεια θρεομένα = 129 (ἐν-)αγέα τέλεια πελομένον (partly I c d).

(b) similar combinations Aesch. *Supp.* 539 ἄταν = 546 -οικοι.

III.—Irregular Responsion (all kinds of I and II involved).

(a) reversal of answering elements in the same part of the antistrophic line; rare in Aesch. e.g. Cho. 25 ὄνυχος = 35 μυχόθεν, otherwise only in Euripides e.g. *Orestes* 150 ἀπάδος ἐφ' ὅτι = 164 ὅτ' ἐπὶ τρίποδι (combined with exact vowel responsion in ὅτι = ποδι).

(b) cross-responsion: e.g. *Hipp.* 529 μηδ' ἄρρυνθος ἔλθοις 532 τὸ τὰς Ἀφροδίτας 533 ἴησιν 534 ὁ Διὸς παῖς = 539 τὸν τὰς Ἀφροδίτας 542 -τα καὶ διὰ πάσας 543 ἰοντα 544 ὅταν ἔλθῃ i.e. (I b) + (I b + I a) + (I c) + (II a + III a) = (I b + I a) + (II a + III a) + (I c) + (I b).

(c) exact responsion combined with inexact *Hipp.* 1109-10 μετὰ δ' ἵσταται ἀνδράσιν αἰὼν πολυπλάνητος ἀεὶ = 1118-9 μεταβαλλομένα χρόνον ἀεὶ βίον συνευτυχοίην.

I have not made a rubric for syllables, they find their place indifferently under I or II. In giving the tragic examples, which are as nearly complete as repeated search can make them, I ignore (generally) all responsion of less than two syllables in each line and all responsion of mere interjections, as purely mechanical: where the same word occurs in both places it is given only once, instances given above are not written out in full. The plays are arranged in the most probable chronological order, where such order is possible: for Aeschylus, I acquiesce in Campbell's, for Sophocles and Euripides, needing guides, I have followed respectively

¹ I insert this proviso for the sake of theoretical completeness: it is at present unnecessary, but no one knows what may not yet be discovered.

Sir Richard Jebb and Dr. Murray. Variant readings of importance are noted wherever they have not escaped me. For the further convenience of those who wish to have their statistics as full as possible I have added to the title of each play the proportion of antistrophic lines to the total number.

AESCHYLUS *Supplices* (556: 1084 add 8 necessary for exact correspondence viz. 181a -f 367a 583a then 564: 1092; if 832-842 can be reduced to two antistrophae of 8 verses apiece then 580: 1091) 40 ἐπικεκλόμεναι (vulg. ἐπικεκλομένα) = 49 ἐπιλεξαμένα; 44 = 53 ἐπι; 59 οἶκτον οἶκτρον . . -ων = 65 (νέ)οικον (Klausen, νέον M) οἶκτον . . -ων; 73 παρείαν = 82 παρ' αἶσαν; 92 κὰν σκοτώι (μελαίναυι ξυμπτυχῇ: scripsi, κὰν σκοτώι μελαίναυι ξὺν τύχαι M) = 99 δάσκειοι; 104 βίαν = 112 δέ' ἀ; 109 ἐφ' ἀγν- = 117 μεταγν-; 118 = 129 II a; 145 πατήρ ὁ παντόπτας = 155 ἀδμήτας (Westphal) ἀδμήτας; 162 = 176 τόν; 164 -κότων = 178 γόνιοι; 376 πρύτανις . . -ος ὦν = 387 φύλακα . . -πόνων; 379 μονο- = 390 μένει; 397 γενοίμαν = 407 ὀμαίμων; 400 ἐλόμενος = 410 ῥεπομένον; 533 ἀνάκτων . . -ων = 540 γυναικῶν . . -ών; 539 = 546 II b; 552 = 561 -μένα; 572 δδύ = 581 πολύ; 573 Ἥρας = 582 Ἰώ; 583 = 590 αἰῶνος; 588 ἔρμα . . λόγιοι = 596 ἔργον . . λέγων; 599 -λόγως = 604 -όνων; 646 = 659 -οντα; 648 ψῆφον = 661 Ζηγός; 687 = 697 -έτω; 689 ἄχρον = 699 πρόνομα; 690 δακρυγόνον = 700 πολίγωνα; 691 βοάν τ' ἐνδημον = 701 τὸ πᾶν τ' ἐκ δαιμόν; 711 δίκας = 717 Δίκας; 758 = 765 -φρονες; 759-60 κόρακες ὥστε, βωμῶν ἀλέγοντες οὐδέν = 766-7 κυνοθρασεῖς, θεῶν οὐδέν ἐπαίοντες; 786 -δς . . αἰ . . εἰ = 794 ὅς . . αἰ . . εἰ; 803 οἰόφρων = 811 -αἰάκτων; 807 γάμον κυρήσ- = 815 γάμον λυτήρ; 818 -όμενα = 826 -όμενοι; 820 = 828 βίαία; 822 -ον δ' ἔ . . σέθεν = 830 -τον τί δ' . . σέθεν; 857 ἀλμύγента πόρον = 867 ἀλφεσίβοιον ἰδωρ; 916 πρόμοι, δάμναμαι = 919 ἀναξ, πᾶσχομεν; 1030 πολι- = 1038 πολύ; 1031 χεῖμ' = 1039 χεῖμ-. It is to be noticed that 73 82 117 659 now show stronger resistance than has been thought to conjectural alteration. 815 is doubtful (καὶ λυτήρια M), but certain bold lines of emendation now seem forbidden. As for 832-842 where all is hopeless and one can only flatter oneself with a pleasing dream, it is remarkable that Hermann's wonderful instinct led him to write ὀσιόφρονα in 837-8 (= βλοσυρόφρονα 846). It is possible that 864 λείφ' ἰδρανα (a form defended by Marckscheffel) κ' ἐς δόρν answers 876 βαθι μὴ πρόκακα παθεῖν with ὀλομένα in 877 (βάται βαθν of M is a con-

flation of double readings with itacism ^{βαται} βαθι).

ἄναρ ἄναρ μέλαν 899 supports Dr. Headlam's δάκος ἄχος μέγα in 909. *Persae* (367 : 1077 add 985 a then 368 : 1078) 69 λινωδέσμι= 77 διχόθεν ; 133=140 τόν ; 262 τόδ' ἄχος= 268 τόδε πῆμ' ; 272 βέλεια παμμυγῇ=287 μέλεια (γρ. rec., σώματα M), πολυβαφῇ (παμ- βαφῇ Kayser) ; 286 ἔθεσαν=292 ἔκτισαν ; 553-5 Ξέρξης μὲν ἤγαγεν, ποποῖ, Ξέρξης δ' ἀπώλεσαν, τοτοῖ, Ξέρξης=563-5 νῆες μὲν ἄγαγον, ποποῖ, νῆες δ' ἀπώλεσαν, τοτοῖ, νῆες ; 569 πολυῖταις=569 πεδιῖραις ; 572=580 πρὸς ; 557-6 οὐράνι' ἄχῃ, δᾶ=583-4 δαιμόνι' ἄχῃ, δᾶ ; 578 βοᾶ=586 τὸ πᾶν ; 639 ἰέντ=646 ἰόντ' ; 650 ἀνὴρ=655 ἄνδρας ; 652-3 'Αἰδωνεύς δ' . . 'Αἰδωνεύς=657-8 θεομήτωρ δ' . . θεομήτωρ δ' ; 696 σέβομαι μὲν=702 δέμαι μὲν ; 697 σέβο- μαι δ' ἀντία λέξαι=703 δέμαι δ' ἀντία φάσθαι ; 853 ἄμαχος=864 ἀπόνους ; 859 ἄρχε=865 ἄγον ; 887 Χίος ἥδὲ Πάρος=896 Πάφον ἥδὲ Σόλους ; 934 αἰακτός=943 πάνδυρον ; 940 θρηνητήρος =949 πειθητήρος ; 941 πέμψω=950 κλάγξω ; 942 πολυδακρυν ἱαχάν=951 γόνον ἀριδακρυν (ἀριδακρυν ἱαχάν Hermann) ; 956 ἀκτάν=969 ἀκτᾶς ; 959=972 ποῦ δέ ; 980 στυγνὰς 'Αθάνας=993 ἄλαστ' ἄλιστα (στυγνὰ) ; 983 ὀφθαλμόν=996 ὄνταρχον ; 988 ἔλιπες ἔλιπες =1002 ἔταφον ἔταφον ; 1005-6 βεβᾶσι= 1010-1 πεπλήγμεθ' ; 1007 ἰὴ ἰὴ, ἰὼ ἰὼ=1012 νείαι νείαι δύναι ; 1021 ὀρῶ ὀρῶ=1032 παπαῖ παπαῖ ; 1026 ἑσπανίσμεθ' ἄρωγόν=1037 γυνμός εἰμι προπομπῶν ; 1039 δαίαι δαίαι= 1047 ἔρεστο' ἔρεστο ; 1045 βαρεῖα=1053 μέλαινα ; 1046 οἱ μάλα=1054 οἱ, σπονό- ; 1055 καὶ στέρν' ἄρασσε=1061 πέπλον δ' ἔρεικε. The 'dirge' 934-1066 is of course responsible for a very large number of these instances, making the percentage of the *Persae*, in spite of its low proportion of antistrophic verse (due no doubt to the epic character of the play), so notably higher than that of the *Supplices*, nearly half of which is antistrophic. *Septem contra Thebas* (424 : 1070 omitting 886 then 423 : 1069 or adding 874a then 425 : 1071) 112 ἄρῃξον= 126 φύλαξον ; 136 ὦ πότνι' Ἥρα=145 ὦ φίλ' Ἀπολλων ; 137=146 similar sense ; 151 ἰὼ παναρκεῖς θεοί=159 ἰὼ φίλοι δαίμονες ; 187 ὅτε τε=197 ὅτ' ὅλο- ; 282 ποτὶ=299 πολυ- ; 286 ἰάππουσι=303 ἐμβαλόντες ; 308 οἰκτρὸν= 320 κλαυτόν ; 309=320 προ- ; 407 -ρους . . -ρους ὑπέρ=442 -ω . . -ω . . ὑπέρ- ; 674 δορί- μαργος=680 πικρόκαρπον ; 687 -ερῶν=694 ἔρωι ; 708 ὁμοῖαν=715 ἄποικος ; (III a) ; 751 γὰρ . . ἄρᾶν=757 γὰρ . . -ασαν ; 817 τελεία= 825 ἀπέειπεν (III a) ; 818 γένεος . . ἀρά=826 πα- τρὸθεν . . φάτις ; 863 σὺν αἰχμαῖ=869 σιδάρωι ; 875-6 αἰαὶ δαιμόνιοι, αἰαὶ=887-8 δι' ὧν αἰομόμοροι, δι' ὧν ; 887 θανάτων=889 θανάτου (καὶ θανάτων M) ; 906 δυοῖν ἀνάκτοι=916 ὁμοσπόροισιν ; 956-7=971-2 similar sense ;

958-9 διπλᾶ λέγειν, διπλᾶ δ' ὄρᾶν=973-4 τάλαν γένος, τάλαν πάθος. Note too the responsions in the monostrophic dirge (anti- strophic in Hermann's text) 941=942, 943= 944, 945=946, 947=948, the last three in- stances corresponding in metre. *Agamemnon* (581 : 1673 omit 1009 (Verrall) 1074 then 579 : 1671 add for ephymnia 18 then 597 : 1691 ; personally however I still have a hankering after Hermann's arrangement of 1449-1576 which yields this symmetry :

ABA CC DBD, cf. the similar but more

complex system of Cho. 305-476 ; I can with difficulty get over the brusque attribution of Agamemnon's death to Helen in 1459 ff: then the proportion would be 584 : 1676) 110 ὅπως=131 χρόνοι ; 115 οἶων=136 οἶον ; 170=178 ὅστις ; 231 μετ=241 μετ' ; 251 βέλει=262 -ρέπει ; 381=398 οἶκ ; 394-5= 411-2 similar sense ; 415 -οράν=431 ὄρᾶν (now first explained by Dr. Headlam) ; 416 =432 διὰ ; 417 -στενον=433 -στερον ; 447 -ίου=465 τί μου ; 688 μή τις=704 μῆνις (as I have no reputation to lose by it I will confess that when I reach μῆνις the strophe rings back μῆνις) ; 689 τοῦ πεπρωμένου=705 ὑστέριον χρόνοι ; 697=713 πολυ- ; 701 αἶμ= 717 αἶμ' ; 740 ἄγαλμα=751 ἄπαιδα ; 969= 981 similar sense ; 973 φρενὸς φίλον θρόνον =985 πρὸς ἐνδίκους φρεσίν ; 993 εἴθυ=1007 ὀρθο- ; 1085 ἰὼ ποποῖ, τί ποτε μῆδεται=1093 ἰὼ τάλαινα, τόδε γὰρ τελεῖς ; 1110 ἐπὶ δέ=1124 ἀπὸ δέ ; 1129-30 ἰὼ ἰὼ ταλαίνας κακόποτμοι τύχαι=1142-3 ἰὼ ἰὼ λιγείας μόνον ἀηδόνος (ἀηδόνος μόνον M which makes τύχαι and μόνον correspond : Dr. Verrall was once inclined to keep this, and I suggest as a faint possibility that the poet may have been satisfied with a correspondence of word for word

ἰὼ	ἰὼ	ταλαίνας	κακόποτμοι	τύχαι
ἰὼ	ἰὼ	λιγείας	ἀηδόνος	μόρον

cf. *Suppl.* 791=799

κόνις	ἄτερθε	περύγων	ὀλοῖμαν
πρόπαρ	θανούσας δ'	Ἄιδας	ἀνάσσει

and numerous other instances, at least in Pindar and Aeschylus, where the corresponding words have the same number of syllables ; here such correspondence combined with rhyme may have seemed to him justification enough to drop the strict syllabic responson) ; 1135 θεοφόρη=1148 θεοφόρους ; 1155 ἰὼ γάμοι γάμοι Παρίδος ἀλέθριοι=1166 ἰὼ πόνοι πόνοι πόλεος ὀλομένας ; 1156 ἰὼ Σκαμάνδρον πάτριον ποτόν=1167 ἰὼ πρόπυργοι θυσία πατρός ; 1161=1172 ἐφημίσω ; 1164

μυνρά=1175 γοερά; 1484 φεύ φεύ=1508 πῶ πῶ. *Choephoroi* (357: 1074 but numbers doubtful on account of 779-836, add 7 for ephymnia after 951 970 then 364: 1081) 23 κόποι?=33 κότον; 25 ὄνυχος ἄλοκι. . -τόμωι=35 μυχόθεν ἔλακε. . φόβωι; 27=37 I e; 28 ἐφλαδὸν ἵπ'=38 ἔλακον ἵπ-; 45=56 I b; 46 τὰς' ἐκβαλεῖν=57 τὸ δ' εὐτυχεῖν; 319=336 I a; 344=362 sense; 345=363 πάτερ; 346=364 sense continued and irregular responsion of δορίμητος and δορικμήτι; 380 βέλος=394 βάλοι; 381=395 I g; 382 -πινον=396 -οιο; 405=418 -μένων (Tucker's φθιομένων 405 gives -ομένων=-ομένων); 406=419 τὰ; 424=445 πολν-; 430-1 ἀνεν. . ἀνεν=451-2 τὰ μὲν. . τὰ δ'; 591 αἰγῶν=600 κνωδάων; 622 πόνων=630 λόγωι; 627 τῶν=635 σέβει; 781 δόμου (Bothe, δέ μου M)=792 δρόμωι; 782 -ομένοισι=793 -όμενον; 934=945 ἔμολε; 935=946 πονά; 936 ἔμολε δ' ἐς=947 ἔθιγε δ' ἐν; 937 διπλοῦς. . διπλοῦς 948=Διός. . Δίκαν. *Eumenides* (318: 1048) 157 -ολαβεί=164 -ολιβῆ; 158 ὑπὸ φρένας, ὑπὸ λοβόν=165 περὶ πόδα, περὶ κάρα; 161=168 ἔχειν; 385=393 τε καί; 391 δυσομμάτοις=399 δυσὸγλιον; 500 πάθεα=509 ἄκεα; 519 δίκας=528 δίκαν; 566=569 τόν; 558 βιαίως=566 δι' αἰών; 957 ἄω=977 κακῶν; 997 χαίρετε χαίρετ' ἐν. . -σι πλ.=1015 χαίρετε χαίρετε δ' . . διπλ-; 998 ἀστυκὸς λεώς=1016 οἱ κατὰ πόλιν; 1000 παρθένον=1018 Παλ- λάδος. *Prometheus* (165: 1127 add 557 a then 166: 1128) 130 φοβῆθ=150 Προμηθ-; 133 τόνδε=153 σὺν δέ; 138 δ' ἔπλη=158 δὲ μή; 170 ἐπιχαρῆ=192 ἐπιχαλαῖς; 546=556 -ομένα; 569 ἄρμονίαν=579 Ἰσιόταν; 596 -πλαστος=618 πατρός; 603 οἰστρηλάτωι=625 σκιρτημάτων; 613 παρθένον=635 παρθένωι; 913 ἡ σοφὸς ἡ σοφός=922 μήποτε μήποτε; 916-7=925-6 sense; 920 -ομένων=929 -ομένων; 921 -ήταν. . γάμων=930 Ἥρας. . πόνων. Ephymnia, that is to say, absolute rhymes, are common in Aeschylus: this fact must be taken into account when one calculates the amount of rhyme in his tragedies. The passages are *Supplices* 123-8=134-9, 147-9=157-9, 168-73=181 a-f, 901-3=911-3 *Persae* 667=675, 1044-6=1052-4 *Septem contra Thebas* 962-4=977-9 *Agamemnon* 124=145, 1055-6=1060-1, 1064-5=1069-70, perhaps 1455-62=1475 a-g, 1490-7=1514-21, perhaps 1539-49=1565 a-l. *Choephoroi* perhaps 785-9=795 a-e, perhaps 802-7=814 a-f, 941-4=951 a-d, 959-62=970-970 c. *Eumenides* 329-34=342-7 (Schneider's repetition of 356-60 after 368 seems quite impossible and carries with it that of 374-8 after 383), 781-96=811-26, 840-9=872-81, 1036=1040, 1044-1048. It may be that the ephymnium or refrain

was the most primitive form of rhyme. Anyhow the practice of Aeschylus seems to show a gradual decline both in frequency and complexity of rhyme.¹

SOPHOCLES *Antigone* (382: 1353) 101 ἐπαπύλωι=118 ἐπάπυλον (irregular); 102 ἐφάνθ. . ποτ'=120 ἔβα. . ποθ'; 108 φνγάδα=125 πάταγος; 335=345 πόντου; 354 ἀνεμόεν=365 μηχανόεν; 360 παντοπόρος ἀπορος=370 ὑψίπολις ἀπολις; 585 γενεᾶς=596 γενεάν; 611 τό. . τὸ μέλλον=622 τό. . ποτ' ἐσθλόν; 614=625 ἐκτὸς ἄτας; 807=823 τάν; 816 νυμφεύσω=833 -ευνάξει; 840 -φαντον=859 -παντος; 843-4 πολυκτῆμονες ἄνδρες' ἰὼ Διρκαῖαι κρήναι=861-2 κλεινοῖς Λαβδακίδαισιν. ἰὼ ματρῶναι λέκτρων; 847 οἶα=866 οἶων; 848=867 πρὸς, and ἔρχομαι irreg; 850 ἰὼ δύστανος=869 ἰὼ δυσπτόμων; 855 προσέτεσες=874 παραβατόν; 945 ἀλλάξει. . χαλκοδέτοις αἰδαῖς=956 Ἡδωνῶν. . κεροτομίοις ὄργαις; 946 τυμβήρει θαλάμωι κατεξέυχθη=957 πετρώδει κατάφαρκτος ἐν δεσμῶι; 949 Ζηγός=959 -θηρόν; 966 παρὰ δέ=977 κατὰ δέ; 1119 -ταλιάν=1130 -ταλίας; 1125 ἐπὶ σποράι=1136 ἐπισκοποῦντ; 1306 αἰαὶ αἰαῖ=1328 ἴτω ἴτω; 1307 φόβωι=1329 μύρων. *Aias* (314: 1420), 176 χάριν=187 φάτιν; 225 ὑπὸ κληζομέναν=248 ζυγὸν ἐζόμενον; 349=357 sense; 396 ἔλεσθ' ἔλεσθ=414 πολλὴν πολλὴν; 608 -πότροπον=621 ἔπειρε; 622 -αἰαῖ=635 Ἀῖδαι; 626 -μόρως=638 -πόνων; 703 -αξ' Ἀπόλλων=715 ἐξ ἀέλπτων; 704 εὐγνωστ=716 -εγνωσθ-; 879 τίς ἀν. . τίς ἀν. . -πόνων=925 ἔμελλ. . ἔμελλ. . χρόνιοι; 885 ὁμόθυμον=931 ὁμόφρων (irreg); 912 πᾶι πᾶι=958 φεύ φεύ; 1204 τέρψιν (already in 1201)=1216 τέρψις. *Oedipus rex* (320: 1530) 154=162 sense; 168 ἀνάριθμα=178 ἀνάριθμος; 469 ἐνοπλος=479 μέλεος; 483=497 μὲν οὖν; 660 πρόμον=689 μόνον; 661 ἄφιλος=690 ἄπορον; 870 μή ποτε=880 μήποτε; 896=910 sense; 1207=1216 sense; 1314 ἔμὸν ἀπότροπον ἐπιπλόμενον=1322 ἔμὸς ἐπίπολος ἐπὶ μόνιμος. *Electra* (330: 1510 add 1264 a 1428 a-c 1429 a then 335: 1515) 134 ὦ παντ=150 ὦ παντ-; 155 οὔτοι σοὶ μούνα τέκνον=173 θάρσει μοι θάρσει τέκνον; 165 ἀνύμφεντος=186 ἀνέλπιστος; 170 -όμενον=190 ὦδε μὲν; 171 αἰεί=191 αἰε-; 194 ἀδᾶ=213 φωνεῖν; 211=231 ποτ' . . ἀπο-; 474=490 -ομένα; 476 Δίκα δίκαια=492 ἄλεκτρ' ἀνύμφα; 823=837 (one might suspect a far-off responsion between

¹ Irregular responsion is most rare in Aeschylus. I add here one case cited by Frey (p. 42), whether through error or not I cannot tell: *Supplices* 350 τέκος κλιθεῖ μιν=364 Διὸς κλαρίων. Frey calls special attention to these rhymes 'durch ein Dutzend Verse von einander getrennt!'

κεραυνοὶ Διὸς ἥ and ἀνακτ' Ἀμφιφάρων, but-!); 1066 φάμα=1080 -μηθής; 1084 νώνυμος=1092 νῦν ὑπό; 1232-3 ἰὼ γοναί γοναί=1253-4 ὁ πᾶς ἐμοὶ ὁ πᾶς. *Trachiniae* (167:1278) 96 Ἄλιον=105 ἄθλιον; 97 τοῦτο . . πόθι=105 οὔποτ' . . πόθον; 498=508 σθένος (irreg.); 500 -ονιδαν=510 -νιαδᾶν; 502 τινάκτορα=512 τινάσσων (irreg.); 505 πρὸ γάμων . . δέ 514 λέχων . . δέ; 637 κόρας=644 κόρος; 824 ὁ τ' ἔλακεν ὁπότε=834 ὃν τέκετο θάνατος; 842 προσορῶ=853 νόσος ὦ; 844 προσέβαλε=855 ἀπέμολε; 846 -οά=857 θοά; 850 ἄχραν=859 αἰχμαί; 851 ἁ δ' . . δολίαν καὶ μεγάλαν ἄταν=860 ἁ δ' . . φανερά τῶνδ' ἐφάνη πρῶκτωρ. *Oedipus Coloneus* (389:1780 add 181 a-c 182 a then 393; 1783) 119-20 ὁ πάντων ὁ πάντων=149-50 δυσταίων μακραίων; 122=152 προσ-; 123 πλανάτας πλανάτας=153 περᾶς γὰρ περᾶς ἄλλ'; 125 προσέβα=155=προσέστης; 131 ἀφώως ἀλόγως=163 μετὰσθ' ἀπόσθ-; 134 λόγος . . λείσσω=166 λόγον . . λέσχαν; 538 ἔπαθες ἔπαθον=545 ἔκανες ἔκανον; 539=546 τί γάρ; 678 ἀνήμερον=690 ἀκράτως; 679 χερμαίων=691 στερονούχου; 694 ὁλον ἐγὼ=707 ἄνουν ἔχω; 695 μεγάλοι=709 μέγαλου; 696=710 -στον; 697 -ωτον=711 -ωλον; 833 ἰὼ πόλις=876 ἰὼ τάλας; 841-2 προβᾶθ' ὅδε, βᾶτε βᾶτ' ἔντοποι, πόλις ἐναίρεται πόλις=884-5 ἰὼ πᾶς λεῶς, ἰὼ γὰρ πρόμοι, μολέτε σὺν τάχει, μολέτ'; 1221 ἀνυμνέαι=1236 ἀπροσόμελον; 1456=1471 αἰθῆρ, ὦ Ζεῦ; 1484 μετὰσχοιμ=1497 παρασχέιν; 1560 Αἰδωνεῦ Αἰδωνεῦ=1571 εὐνᾶσθαι κλυεῖσθαι; 1563 μῶροι=1574 τόν, ὦ; 1674 εἰχομεν=1701 εἰμένω; 1677 τί δ' ἔστιν; ἔστιν μὲν=1704 ἔπραξεν; ἔπραξε; 1736 αἰῶν=1750 δαίμων. *Philoctetes* (248:1471) 138 ἐτέρας=153 ἐνεδρος; 139=154 τό; 169 ὅπως=180 ἴσως; 171-2=182-3 sense; 201 εὔστομ' ἔχε παῖ=210 ἄλλ' ἔχε τέκνον 207 του . . κατ' ἀνάγκαν=215 που . . ἐπ' ἀνάγκας; 209 διάσσημα γὰρ θροεῖ=218 προβοῦι γάρ τι δεινόν; 399 παρεδίδωσαν=515 ἐπιμέμονεν; 710 -βόλων=πῶροι; 711 πτανῶν=723 μηνῶν (!); 714 ψυχά=725 νυμφάν; 837 πάντων γνῶμ' ἴσχω=853 τοῦτοι γνῶμ' ἴσχεις; 838 -ἁ πόδα=854 ἄπορα; 1085 καὶ θνήσκοντι συνοίστη=1105 ναῖον ἐνθάδ' ὀλοῦμαι; 1088 ἀπ' ἐμοῦ=1109 ἀπ' ἐμῶν. *Fragments* (Nauck) 532, 2 ἡμᾶς=5 ἡμῶν; 535-6, 1=3 ἀνθρώπων.

EURIPIDES *Cyclops* (65:709 add 62 a-f 374 a-h then 79:723) 45 βοτᾶνα=59 τεκῶν; 358-9 ἐφθά . . χναῖον βρύκειον=373-372 (transp. Hermann) ἐφθά . . κόπτων βρύκειον. *Alcestis* (259:1163 add 96 a 468 a then 261:1165) 118 ἀπότομος=128 Διόβολον; 120 ἐπὶ=130 ἔτι; 218 φίλοι=231 φίλαν; 222 πόριζε δὴ πόριζε=234 βόασον ὦ στέναζον; 225=237 Ἄιδαν; 245 οὐράνιαι τε δῖναι νεφέλας

δρομαῖον=249 νυμφίδιοι τε κοῖται πατρίας Ἰωλκοῦ; 252 ὀρῶ . . ὀρῶ=259 ἄγει . . ἄγει (v.l.); 253=260 νεκύν; 400 ὑπάκουσον ἄκουσ=412 ἀνόνατ' ἀνόνατ'; 439 κῶπαι=449 ὤρας (ὤρα ὤραι codd.); 444 ἐλάται δικῶπαι=454 μελέων ἀοιδοῖς; 456 ἐπέμψαι=467 κρήναι; 464 λέχος, ἥ μάλ' ἂν ἔμοιγ' =474 μέρος ἥ γὰρ ἂν ἔμοιγ'; 570 Ἀπόλλων=580 λεόντων; 590 ἀρότοις=599 ἀλόχου; 872 πρόβα πρόβα=889 τύχα τύχα; 875 ὠφελείς=892 ὠλεσας; 907 ἔφερε=930 ἔθανε; 909=932 ἦδη; 910 βίῳτου=933 θάνατος; 992=1003 sense. *Medea* (205:1419) 150 νύμφα=175 ὁμφάν; 152 ματαῖα=177 μεθείη; 410 ἱερῶν χωροῦσ=421 -γενέων λήξουσ'; 412 βουλαί=423 γνώμαι; 416 φᾶμαι=426 ἕμνον; 418 -κεῖω γένει=428 αἰὼν ἔχει; 436 λέκτρον=443 λέκτρον; 632 δέσποιν' =640 δεινά (μ' αἰνά Verrall); 634 χρίσασ' =642 κρίνοι; 647 οἰκτροτάτων ἀχέων=658 δεινότητων παθῶν; 651 -εσθαι=662 ἔσται; 826 χώρας=837 χώραν; 828 αἰεὶ δια=840 αἰεὶ δ' ἔπι; 831 Πιερίδας=843 -αι παρέδρους; 846 -ῶν . . -ῶν=836 ἥ . . ἥ (!); 851 τεκῶν=861 ἄδακρον; 852 σκέφαι φόνον=862 στήσεις φόνου; 853 γονάτων=863 ἱκετᾶν; 980 Ἄιδα=988 ἄταν δ'; 993 ἀλόχωι=999 λεχέων; 1257 φόβος=1267 φόνος; 1258 διογενές=1268 ὁμογενῆ; 1273 (transp. Schenkl) ἀκούεις . . ἀκούεις=1282 μίαν δὴ . . μίαν τῶν; 1275 φόνον=1286 φόνου; 1281 ὃν ἔτεκες=1292 πολύπονον. *Heracleidae* (146:1055 add 76 a 110 a-e then 152:1061) 75 ἁμαλόν=95 πόλεος; 353 ἑτεροί=362 ἑτέραν; 608 βαρύποτμον=619 ὑπεράλγει; 614 ἀλέταν (Murray)=625 ἀρετά; 755-6 μέλλω . . μέλλω=766-7 Ζεὺς μοι . . Ζεὺς μοι; 774 ταῦδ' ἐπάγοντα=781 ἀνεμόεντι; 892 χορὸς . . λίγεια=901 ὁδόν . . δίκαιον; 897 τῶν=906 τῶνδ'. *Hippolytus* (218:1466) 123 παγάν=133 ξάνθαν; 127 ποταμίαι=137 στόματος ἁ; 130 δέσποιναν (δεσποῖνας)=140 δύστανον; 146-7 ἀνέρος=156-7 λιμένα τόν; 149=159 ὑπέρ; 362 αἰες ὦ ἐκλυες ὦ=669 τάλανες ὦ κακοτυχεῖς; 363 μέλεα=670 ἔχομεν; 365 ἰὼ μοι φῦ φῦ=672 ἰὼ γὰ καὶ φῶς; 525 Ἔρως Ἔρως=535 ἄλλως ἄλλως; 529, 532-4=539, 542-4 ΠΙ b; 550-2 δρομάδα Ναῖδ' ὅπ' . . Βάκχαν . . καπνῶ φονίους θ' ἑμμεναίους (ὑμνηναίους Murray)=560-3 τοκάδα τὰν διγόν' (γρ. schol.) . . Βάκχου . . πότμοι φονίωι κατηνᾶσαν; 732 ὑπὸ=742 ἐπὶ; 738 σταλάσσουσ=748 χέονται; 756 κακονυμφοτάταν . . ἄμφ=770 ἀπὸ νυμφιδίων . . ἄμφ; 818 κακῶν=837 θανῶν; 830=848 the latter defective but a rhyme probable; 1105 ἵπτας=1113 τύχαν; 1109-10=1118-9 ΠΙ c; 1120=1131 οὐκέτι. *Andromache* (278:1288 add 1219 a then 279:1289) 119 Φθιάς . . Ἀσιήτιδα γένναν=128 Ἰλιάς . . Λακεδαιμόνος ἐγγενέτησιν (irreg.); 138 πόλεος=144 τὸ δὲ σόν; 274 Ἰδαίαν=284 οὐρεῖαν; 295 πρὶν

Ἰδαῖον κατοικίσαι Λέπας=303 τυράννων ἔσχεσ
 ἂν δόμων ἔδρας (cf. 282=292); 299 ἑλίσσεται
 =307 -ελείπετο; 299-300=307-8 contrasted
 sense; 467=475 sense; 482 φρενός=490
 -φρονος; 484 πόλιας=492 πότνια; 507 ὦ
 πάτερ=530 ὦ φίλος; 772 δωμάτων=784 δόμων
 (irreg.); 1009=1019 εὖ; 1011 πέλαγος=1021
 -στεφάνους; 1027 ἀλόχου=1037 ἀγόρους;
 1029 θανάτωι=1039 ἀλοχοι; 1173 ὦμοι ἐγώ,
 κακόν=1186 ὦ γάμος, ὦ γάμος; (Hermann's
 conjecture in 1187 makes ἁμοῖς and ἀμάν
 answer each other); 1182 δαίμων=1195
 Φοῖβου; 1183 παρ' ἀκτάν=1196 ἀνάψαι; 1208
 θανεῖν θανέιν σε=1221 μόνος μόνουσιν. *Hecuba*
 (136:1295) 445 ποντοπόρους=456 πεμπο-
 μέναν; 471 πῆναις=480 -κλημαι; 629-30 ἔμοι
 χρῆν συμφοράν, ἔμοι χρῆν=639-40 πόνοι γὰρ
 καὶ πόνων ἀνάγκαι; 635 ἐπί=643 ἔρις; 913
 ἐμβατεύσω=922 ἐμβεβῶτα; 923 δὲ πλόκαμον
 ἀναδέτοις=933 δὲ φίλια μονόπεπλος; 927=
 937 *I h*; 931 Ἰλιάδα=941 Ἰλιάδος (irreg.).
Surplicies (236:1234) 46 νεκύν (φθιμένων
 preceding)=52 φθιμένους; 61-2 ἐς χέρα θῆναι
 νεκύν=69-70 ἐν (ταλαιναίη 'ν Wilamowitz)
 χερὶ θῆναι νέκυν ἀμφ-; 71-2 ἐρχεται . . γόνων
 διάδοχος=79-80 ἐξάγει . . γόνων πολύπονος;
 365 ἔμόν=369 ἔμῶν; 367 ἀνακτος ὅσια=371
 ἀγαλμα φόνιον; 373 πόλεσιν=377 πόλις ἁ-;
 374 αἰεῖ=378 -αἰνεῖν; 375 φίλια=379 ἀδικί-;
 376 τεμεῖ=380 νέμεις; 602 διὰ δόρος=612
 διάφορα; 604 φόνιοι μάχαι=614 δίκαι δίκαν;
 606 τίς ἂν τῶνδ'=616 -σι πάντων; 623 τίς
 ποτ' αἶσα, τίς ἄρα πότμος=631 τὸ σὸν ἀγαλμα,
 τὸ σὸν ἴδρυμα; 784-5 τὰν ἀελπτον ἀμέραν
 ἰδοῦσα=792-3 νῦν δ' ὄρω σαφέστατον κακόν;
 799 τῶν κατὰ χθονὸς νεκρῶν=812 σώμαθ'
 αἵματοςταγῇ; 801 -ατων=814 ἄγων; 805 ἰὼ
 ἰώ=818 ἔχεις ἔχεις; 808 Ἀργεῖα=821 Καθ-
 μέων; 955-6 οὐκέτ' εὐτεκνος οὐκέτ' εὐπαις=
 963-4 ἐπὶ ματέρες ἐπὶ κούρους; 957 κουρο-
 τόκοις ἐν Ἀργεῖαις=965 κλεινοτάτους ἐν
 Ἀργεῖαις; 958-9=966-7 sense; 999 Καπανέως
 =1022 θαλάμους; 1000 ἐμῶν=1023 ἐμῶν;
 1002 φῶς τάφον τε=1025 φῶς γάμοι τε; 1007
 συνθηγίσκειν=1029 συντηγθεῖς; 1123 φέρω
 φέρω=1132 ἄπαις ἄπαις; 1124=1133 πατρός;
 1144-5=1151-2 sense (1144 ἄρ' ἀσπίδοχος
 =1151 χαλκίοις ἐν ὄπλοις). *Hercules* (252:
 1428) 351=ελαύνων=367 ἐναίρων; 360
 λέοντος=376 -λόνωντον; 387 διεπέρασεν=401
 εἰσέβαινε; 410=427 πολν-; 410 ἔβα δι'=427
 ἐπλεον' ἐς; 412 ἄγορον=429 βίστον; 415
 ἄγρας=432 πλάτα; 420 πολν-ῶ=437 δόρν-;
 422 βέλσει τ' ἀμφ' =439 τέκεσιν ἂν π-; 647-8
 ἃ καλλίστα μὲν ἐν ὀλβωι καλλίστα δ' ἐν πενίᾳ
 =665-6 καὶ τῶιδ' ἦν τοὺς τε κακοὺς ἂν γνῶναι
 καὶ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς; 673 Μοῖσαις=688 ἡμνοῦσ'
 678-9=692-3 γέρον αἰοδός; (and κελადεῖ
 679 κελადῆσω 694 irreg.); 736 βίστον=752
 ἀνάτος; 763 χοροὶ χοροὶ . . μέλουσι=773

θεοὶ θεοὶ . . μέλουσι (Canter, μέλλουσι codd.);
 764 ἱερὸν=774 ὁσίον; 789 καλλίνικον ἀγῶνα
 (τὸν Ἡρακλῆος preceding)=806 τὰν Ἡρακλῆος
 ἀλκάν; 791 Μουσῶν=808 Πλούτων-; 794=
 811 ἔφανε; 795 χαλκασπίδων=812 ξιφηφόρων.
Ion (213:1622) 112=128 ὦ; 113 προ-
 129 πρό; 114 Φοῖβου θυμέλαν=130 μαντεῖον
 ἔδραν; 187 -ραπείαι=197 -ρὰ πῆναις; 190 τάνδ'
 ἄθρησον=201 τόνδ' ἄθρησον; 1053 πότνια
 πότνι' ἐ=1066 πάθει πάθεια; 1056-60=
 1069-73 sense; 1058=1071 ποτ'; 1060 τῶν
 εὐγενετῶν=1073 τῶν εὐπατριδῶν; 1088 ἄλλων=
 1104 ἄλλαν. *Troïades* (298:1332 add 604a
 then 299:1333) 159 ὦ τέκν'=182 ὦ τέκν-
 (possibly τέκνον in 159 the latter part of
 which seems damaged); 308 (not anti-
 strophic in Dr. Murray's text and not counted
 above) ἰδοὺ ἰδοῦ=325 εἰδαν εἰοῖ; 314=331
 refrain; 315=332 μάτερ; 323 λάκτροις=340
 εὐνῶν; 523 πῆρας=543 κνέφας; Meineke's
 conjecture would make πυρὸς πυρὸς 815=
 ἔβας ἔβας 804; 831-2 αἰ δὲ παῖδας αἰ δὲ (αἰ
 . . αἰ Wilamowitz, αἰ . . αἰ, αἰ . . αἰ codd.)=
 850-1 εἶδε γαῖαν εἶδε; 1066 Ἰδαῖα τ' Ἰδαῖα
 1077 μέλει μέλει μοι τὰδ'; 1099 Πέλοπος=
 1117 μέλεια; 1310 ἀγόμεθα φερόμεθ'=1325
 ἐμάθετ' ἐκλύετε; 1316 θάνατος . . σφαγαῖσιν=
 1333 πρόφτερε . . Ἀχαιῶν. *Electra* (272:1359
 add 1154a b 1181a then 275=1362) 121
 στυγεράς=136 μέλαι; 147 ὄνχι τεμνομένα
 δέραν=164 ξίφει δ' ἀμφιτόμοις λυγρὰν (cf.
 also irregular responson of τιθεμένα 149
 θεμένα 165 as against Radermacher's denial
 of responson in 140-9 157-166); 169 ἐμολέ
 τις ἐμολεν=193 χρύσεά τε χαρίσαι; (432-41
 =442-51 note the irregular echoes 434
 Νηρηίδων 438 Θέτιδος 442 Νηρηίδος 450
 Θέτιδος); 702 καλάμοις=716 κελάδει; 703
 μούσαν=717 Μουσῶν irreg.; 705 χρυσέαν
 ἄρνα=718 χρυσέας ἄρνους (both passages in
 trouble); 729 ἡελίου=739 ἄελιον; 865 χορῶν
 =879 χαρῶν; 1178 ἴδετε=1191 φανερά; 1179
 μυσσάρ, δίγωνα σώματ' =1191 ἄχρα, φόνια δ'
 ὤπασ-; 1188 παθοῦσα=1204 φρονοῦσα; 1212
 =1220 ματρός. *Iphigenia Taurica* (179:
 1499) 395 διεπέρασ- =410 λινοπόροις; 425
 Ἀμφι=442 ἀμφί; 1091 ἔλεγον=1108 ἔπεσον;
 1093 μολπαῖς=1110 λόγχαῖς; 1096 -γόρους
 =1113 -κτόνων; 1249 ἔτι βρέφος=1274 ὅτι
 τέκος; 1254 θρόνωι=1279 βροτῶν. *Helena*
 (Pearson,¹ 248:1692 add 1317 a 1476 a then
 250-1694) 173 πάθει πάθεια μέλει μοι μέλεια=
 185 ἄλκρον ἔλεγον; 174 θρηνημασι ξυνωῖδα=
 186 αἰάγμασι στένονσα; 176 δάκρυσι=188 γοε-
 ρόν; 177 ὑπὸ μέλαθρα νύχια παῖανας=189 ὑπὸ
 (irreg.) . . μύχτια γάλα κλαγγαῖσιν; 178 ὀλομέ

¹ From here on, as Dr. Murray's edition is not yet finished, I have taken Kirchhoff as a basis, with reference in each case to any other edition consulted. Wecklein I have not had.

νοῖς=190 ἀναβοῶι; 193 κόραι=212 γύναι;
 194-5 αἰὼν τις ἔμολεν ἔμολε δάκρυα δάκρυσι=
 213-4 αἰὼν τις ἔλαχεν ἔλαχεν ὅτε σε τέκετο;
 198-9 δι' ἐμέ . . δι' ἐμὸν ὄνομα=217-8 τί γὰρ
 ἀπ . . τίνα δὲ βίοντον; 199, 203 πολυ=218,
 222 οὐκ; 200 Λήδα=219 μήτηρ; 203=222
 sense; 204 οἶχεται=223 ἔρχεται; 207 λέλοιπε
 δάπεδα=226 λέλοιπε βίοντον; 1113 Ἑλένας=
 1128 μονόκω; 1117-8 ὅτ' ἔμολεν ἔμολε, πῆδία
 βαρβάρωι πλάται ὅς ἔδραμε ῥόθια, μέλεα=
 1132-3 ἀλίμενα δ' ὄρεα μέλεα βαρβαρόν στολᾶς
 ὅτ' ἔστυο πατρίδος ἀποπρό (corrupt); 1120
 σθέν, ὦ Ἑλένα (Seidler for ὡς ἔλε) . . αἰνόγα-
 μος=1135 Δαναῶν νεφέλαν . . ναυσὶν ἄγων;
 1121 Ἀφροδίτας=1136 Ἥρας (irreg.); 1137
 θεὸς . . μὴ . . ἡ τὸ μέσ=1151 -ες ὄσ . . τὰς
 . . τὰς πολέμ-; 1140 τὰ θεῶν=1154 θνατῶν;
 1301-2 ὄρεα ποτὲ δρομίδι κώλῳ μάτηρ=
 1319-20 δρομαίων δ' ὅτε πολυπλανήτων μάτηρ;
 1308 -μα=1326 δρία; 1313 -ενίων=1331
 ἑλίκων; 1316 πάνοπλος=1334 πέλανοι; 1340
 =1356 ματρός; 1342 παρθένωι=1358 -ται
 νεβρῶν; 1349 θεά=1365 θαῖς; 1454 -χόρων
 =1468 χοροῖς; 1464 ἐπ' ἀκτᾶς=1477 ἐλαμψαν.
Phoenissae (203:1766 add 814 a then
 204:1767) 202 ἔβαν=214 ἐμάς; 203 ἀκρο-
 θίνια Λοξίαί=215 καλλιστεύματα Λοξίαί; 204
 Φοινίσσας ἀπὸ νάσσου=216 Καδμείων ἔμολον
 γὰν; 239-41=250-2 sense, and note 240-1
 Ἄρης αἶμα δάιον φλέγει=251-2 φλέγει ὀχῆμα
 φοινίου μάχης (253 Ἄρης); 245 ἐπατύργος
 αἶδε γὰ=256 Ἄργος ὁ Πελασγικόν; 246 φεῦ
 φεῦ=257 ἄλκάν; 249 ὧν μέτεστί μοι πόνων=
 260 ὅς μετέρχεται δόμους; 638 ἔμολε=657
 φόνιος; 639 Τύριος ὦ=658 Ἄρεος ὦ; 647
 Δίρκας=666 δίας; 790 αἵματι Θήβας (-αις)
 κῶμον ἀνανυλότατον προχορεύεις=807 πένθεα
 γαῖας Σφίγγος ἀμυσσοτάταισι σὺν ὠδαῖς; 793
 ἀρμασι=809 τείχεσι; 795 γέναι (-αν)=812
 παῖδων; 796 -οπλον=813 πόλιν; 1019 ἔβας
 ἔβας=1043 χρόνῳ δ' ἔβα; 1021 Καδμείων
 ἀρπαγὰ=1045 Θηβαίαν τάνδε γὰν; 1022 πολύ-
 =1046 πάλιν; 1023 τέρας=1047 τάλας;
 1026 Διρκαί . . ποτ'=1050 μαιν . . πτό-;
 1028 ἄλυρον=1052 μυσαρόν; 1029 Ἑρινύν=
 1053 ἀραῖσι; 1030 ἔφερες ἔφερες ἄχα πατρίδι
 =1054 τέκα μέλεος ἀγάμει' ἀγάμει'; 1031
 φόνιος=1055 θάνατον; 1035 ἐστέναζον=1059
 καλλίνικα; 1036-8 ἦνον βοᾶν βοᾶν, ἦνον μέλος
 μέλος, ἄλλος ἀλλ'=1060-2 γενοίμεθ' ὥδε
 ματέρες, γενοίμεθ' εὐτεκνοί, φίλα Παλλάς, ᾧ;
 1041 ὅποτε πόλεος=1065 ὅθεν ἐπέστυτο; 1042
 τιν=1066 τις; 1287 ἔλεος ἔλεος=1299 πέσσεα
 πένεα; 1290 ἰὼ Ζεῦ ἰὼ γὰ=1302 ἱαχὰν
 στενακτάν. *Orestes* (186:1693) 142 ἀποπρό
 βᾶτ' ἐκεῖν' ἀποπρό μοι κοῖτας=155 ἔτι μὲν
 ἱμπνέει, βραχὺ δ' ἀναστένει; 149 κάταγε κάταγε
 . . ἀτρίμας ἀτρίμας=163 ἀδικος ἀδικα . .
 ἔλακεν ἔλακεν; 150 λόγον ἀπόδος ἐφ' ὅ τι=164
 -φονον ὅτ' ἐπὶ τρίποδι; 171 ἀνὰ πόδα σόν=

192 -ον ἀπόφονον; 174 πότνια πότνια=195
 ἔκανες ἔβανες (ἔβανες ἔβανες); 175 -πόνων=
 196 -πὸ δ' ὦ; 180 ὑπὸ γὰρ ἀλγέων ὑπὸ τε
 συμφορᾶς=201 σὺ τε γὰρ ἐν νεκροῖς τό τ' ἐμὸν
 οἶχεται; 185 στόματος ἀνακέλαδον ἀπὸ λέχεος
 ἦ=206 ἀγαμος ἐπιδ' ἄτεκνος ἄτε βίοντον ᾧ;
 318 θεαί=334 -εται; 320=336 δάκρυσι; 323
 τινύμεναι δίκαν, τινύμεναι φόνον (324 καθικε-
 τεύομαι καθικετεύομαι)=339 κατολοφύρομαι
 κατολοφύρομαι (the musical fragment is
 against this, but I know of no editor who
 has upset his text in order to agree with it);
 329 τρίποδος=345 τίνα γάρ; 808 -άδα καί=
 820 παλάμαι; 810 -τρεῖδαις=822 δαῖσαι; 814
 -τα καί=826 τάλαι; 818 -τρεῖδαις=830 αἶε
 (αἰεῖ!); 973 Musgrave's οἰκοῖς would rhyme
 with ἄταν 962, cf. Aesch. *Supp.* 539=546;
 963 ᾧ=974 ᾧ; 965 ἱαχέτω=976 ἰὼ ἰὼ; 967
 πῆματ'=978 μοῖρα; 968 ἔλεος ἔλεος ὄδ'
 ἔρχεται=979 ἕτερα δ' ἕτερος ἀμείβεται; 970
 ποτ' ὄντων=981 -τος αἰὼν; 1253-4 -ι -ε -ε
 -ο -ε -εο . . -ει -έ -ε -ε . . -α=1273-4 ᾧ -ο -ο -έ
 -ε -ο . . -α -ι -ο -δ . . ἔπ-; 1255 ἐπ-; 1275
 ἔτι; 1353 κτύπον . . κτύπον=1537 ἔτερ . .
 ἔτερ-; 1361-2 διὰ δίκας ἔβα θεῶν νέμεσις ἐς
 Ἑλέναν=1545-6 τέλος ἔχει δαίμων βορροῖς
 τέλος ὅπαι θέλει. *Bacchae* (Tyrrell, 284:1392
 strike out 537 then 283:1391) 67 -ιον εἶ=
 71 Διόν-; 72 -δαίμων=88 -δίων; 84 θεοῦ=
 100 θεόν; 105 ὦ Σεμέλ-; 120 ὦ θαλάμ-;
 118-9 -ἰων τ' οἶσ . . Διονύσωι=133-4 -ἰδων
 οἶσ . . Διόνυσος; 412 ἀγ' ἐμέ, Βρόμιε Βρόμιε
 =427 ἀπέχειν πραπίδα φρένα τε; 874 παρα-
 ποτάμιον ἀδομένα=894 ὅ τι ποτ' ἄρα τὸ δαι-
 μόνιον; 978-9=998-9 sense; 987=1007
 doubtful, but some responson evident, either
 ἐς ὅρος ἐς ὅρος=ἕτερα μεγάλα or ἔμολεν ἔμολεν
 =μεγάλα φανερὰ; 1176 Κιθαῶν τί Κιθαῖων;
 =1193 ἐπαινέεις; τί δ'; ἐπαινῶ; 1182 γένεθλα
 μετ' ἐμὲ μετ' ἐμέ=1197-8 γέγηθα μεγάλα
 μεγάλα. *Iphigenia Aulidensis* (England, pro-
 portion not reckoned) 168 χαλκίδα=189
 ἀσπίδος; 180 Πάρις=201 παρά; 182 κρηναί-
 =203 νησαί-; 235 ἔχων=247 ἄγων; 255
 ἐστολισμένας=267 ἡθροῖς μένους; 256=268
 ἦν;(285 λόχενμα=300 πόρενμα; 287 νήσους=
 302 -κλήτου—if the passages were not all 'to
 pot'); 547 -άμενοι=561 -όμεναι; 754 ὅπλοις
 =765 πλάταις; 756-7 Φοιβήν δάπεδον τῶν
 =767-8 Σιμωντίους ὀχετοῖς τάν; 1039 ἱαχάν
 =1061 τε Βάκχου; 1047 Πηλιάδα=1070
 Ἰλιάδα (England for γαῖαν ἐκ-); 1056-7 κόραι
 Νηρέως γάμους ἐχόρευσαν=1078-9 Νηρηίδος
 (irreg.) . . ὑμεναῖους. *Rhesus* (230:996) 24=
 42 Ἔκτορ; 131 τᾶδε δοκεῖ, τᾶδε μεταθέμενος
 νόει=195 μέγας ἀγών μεγάλα δ' ἐπινούεις ἐλεῖν;
 134 μολεῖν=198 πέλειν; 136 δαίεται=200
 φαίνεται; 230 ἀγεμῶν=239 δεσπότην; 232
 δαίμας=241 δαίμων; 347=356 ἦκεῖς; 455
 φίλα θροεῖς, φίλος=821 μέγας ἐμοὶ μέγας;

456 ἄμαχον = 822 ἔμολον; 460 οὔτε . . οὔτε = 826 οὔτ' ἐ . . οὔτ' ἔ-; 543-5 = 562-4 ephymnia with slight changes; 900 πορευθεῖς = 911 ε-πλαθεῖς. *Fragments* (Nauck) 781, 17 Ἀφροδίταν = 26 Ἀφροδίται; 19 θεῶν = 27 θεάν.

Sophocles occupies, as always, a middle position: Euripides, in spite of an occasional ebb (*Heracidae Ion Iphigenia Taurica Bacchae*), plainly advances, if not towards greater frequency, at least towards greater complexity of rhyme.

These are the facts from tragedy, and I imagine that it needs no words of mine to make clear that 'rhyme,' as defined at the outset of this paper, was used by the Greek tragedians, consciously and deliberately, as a more subtle mode of antistrophic response: that very ebb of which I have just spoken makes it, to my mind, quite impossible to interpret the phenomenon as altogether a play of the subconscious. The elements of this 'rhyme' are various and subtly interwoven: mere assonance, weak and full rhyme, kinship and contrast of sense play across each other, occasionally reaching such a pinnacle of close union as we are quite unaccustomed to seek in our own poetry.¹

¹ It is a common requirement in modern French poetry. See, of course, Banville's *petit traité* and

My pet instance comes from the *Helena* where, in an enigmatical chorus, rhymed with exceptional subtlety and pervaded by a curious chime of ὦ Ἑλένα, the name Ἑλένα 1120 answers to νεφέλαν 1135: the whole fable of the play writ in brief. I suspect that more is concealed here, which will come to light when someone solves for us the riddle of this fascinating but most baffling play.²

cf. the following passage (L. Muhlfield, 'Chronique de la littérature,' *revue blanche*, 15 avril, 1893 = tom. iv p. 289) ' . . il faudrait essayer de surprendre respectueusement la "manière" de Heredia. J'en veux indiquer un seul trait: c'est le caractère supérieurement simple, précis et prépondérant des mots à la rime,

Seul, parfois, un bouvier menant ses buffles boire,
De sa conque où soupire un antique refrain
Emplissant le ciel calme et l'horizon marin,
Sur l'azur infini dresse sa forme noire.

Ces quatre mots boire, refrain, marin, noire résumant chacun le vers qu'ils terminent.' The critic did not go far to pick his example, and I will not trouble about a better.

² Note the date of this paper.—Aristophanes has his trace of rhyme when he strikes a higher lyric note: *Clouds* 276-8 ἀέναι Νεφέλαι, ἀρωμέν . . εἰδ(ῶν) (ῥητον) = 298-300 παρθέναι ὁμβροφόροι, ἔλθωμεν . . εβα(νδρον γὰρ) and 287 μαρμαρέαις ἐν αἰγῆσι = 309 παντοδαπαῖς ἐν ὕραις.

C. J. BRENNAN.

(To be continued.)

XENOPHONTEA.

ANABASIS.

1. 2. 21. The third ὅτι should be omitted or changed. Perhaps ὅτε, parallel to ἐπεὶ.

1. 5. 9 συναγείρεσθαι should be συναγερέσθαι to match μαχεῖσθαι.

ibid. καὶ συνιδεῖν δ' ἦν τῷ προσέχοντι τὸν νοῦν τῇ βασιλείῳ ἀρχῇ πλῆθει μὲν . . ἰσχυρὰ οὖσα, τοῖς δὲ μήκει . . ἀσθενής.

Mr. Marchant says 'τῇ . . ἀρχῇ C₁ DV: τοῦ . . ἀρχὴν A: ἡ . . ἀρχή C₂ cet.', himself reading the dative. With the dative after προσέχοντι one might be content; but are the nominatives ἰσχυρὰ οὖσα and ἀσθενής right? As far as I know, such phrases as ἦν ἰδεῖν, which are common enough, always take an accusative. If we have a nominative, ἰδεῖν must be used in an absolute way, *was to see*, for which I do not know any exact

parallel. Such a use as Ar. N. 1172 νῦν μὲν γ' ἰδεῖν εἰ πρῶτον ἐξαρηντικός is different, (1) because it refers to actual sight, (2) because there is no participle like οὖσα here. Aristophanes could never have said ἰδεῖν εἰ ἐξαρηντικός ὢν. This suggests that ἰσχυρὰ οὖσαν and ἀσθενῆ are what Xenophon wrote, possibly τὴν . . ἀρχήν. The confusion of the MSS. points perhaps to something different from the reading of any of them.

1. 9 5 αἰδημονέστατος . . τῶν ἡλικιώτων ἐδόκει εἶναι τοῖς τε πρεσβυτέροις καὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ὑποδεεστέρων μᾶλλον πείθεσθαι.

To match αἰδημονέστατος we need μάλιστα. μᾶλλον could in any case hardly stand, and the mistake is common enough.

1. 10. 4. Read ὡς ἦδη πάντας νικῶντες and omit the ὡς πάντας νικῶντες preceding. They can never have been meant to stand together. Cf. on 3. 4. 45.

2. 4. 5 ἐγὼ ἐνθυμούμαι μὲν καὶ ταῦτα πάντα.

There seems little force in καὶ. Perhaps καὶ <αὐτός>.

2. 5. 25 ἐγὼ μὲν γε, ἔφη ὁ Τισσαφέρνης, . . ἐν τῷ ἐμφανεῖ λέξω τοὺς πρὸς ἐμὲ λέγοντας ὡς κ.τ.λ. ἐγὼ δέ, ἔφη ὁ Κλέαρχος, ἄξω πάντας καὶ σοὶ αὐτὸ δηλώσω κ.τ.λ.

For λέξω read δείξω, which is better suited to ἐν τῷ ἐμφανεῖ and matches the δηλώσω following. Parts of λέγω and δείκνυμι are apt to get confused (Δ Δ).

3. 1. 7 ταῦτ', ἔφη, χρή ποιεῖν ὅσα ὁ θεὸς ἐκέλευσεν.

Perhaps πάντα for ταῦτα.

3. 4. 45. Omit διακελευομένων τοῖς ἐαντών. Cf. on 1. 10. 4 above.

4. 3. 29 <λέγων> ὅτι οὗτος?

5. 6. 22. Read οὐδέν for οὐδέ before ἐμῖν.

6. 5. 25 παρήγγελτο δὲ τὰ μὲν δόρατα ἐπὶ τὸν δεξιὸν ὤμον (τῶν δ. ὤμων Cobet) ἔχειν, ἕως σημαίνει τῇ σάλπιγγι.

ἕως *until* with present is so unusual that it may well be wrong. See *C.R.* xvi. 11. It would have to mean 'until the trumpet was giving' or 'began to give the signal,' which seems pointless. σημήναι (σημήναιε) would be natural, or ἕως ἂν σημήνῃ.

7. 3. 21 οὔτοι δ' (οἱ τρίποδες) ἦσαν κρεῶν μεστοὶ νενεμημένων.

Surely νενεμένων, as in 5. 4. 27 θησαυρὸς . . ἄρτων νενημένων.

7. 7. 36 σοὶ δὲ νῦν ἢ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν πρόσδοδος πλείων ἔσται ἢ ἐμπροσθεν τὰ παρόντα πάντα ἂ ἐκέκτησο.

The antithesis of πρόσδοδος suggests ὑπάρχοντα rather than παρόντα.

RESPUBLICA LACEDAEMONIORUM.

2. 12 εἰσι δὲ καὶ οἱ παντάπασι τοῦ διαλέγεσθαι τοὺς ἑραστὰς εἰργονσιν ἀπὸ τῶν παιδῶν.

It is hardly possible that εἰργονσι should take both τοῦ δ. and ἀπὸ τ.π. In *Cyrop.* 5. 1. 25 (σοῦ ἀπελείφθη τοῦ μὴ σοὶ ἀκολουθεῖν) τό is now read for τοῦ. But that passage and some others quoted here by Haase suggest strongly, what had occurred to me otherwise, that we should insert a negative. If we read τοῦ <μὴ> διαλέγεσθαι, we can then take it as an instance of τοῦ or τοῦ μὴ in a final sense, *that they might have no intercourse with them at all*, though the words

come in a rather strange order. It is not a little curious that there are several other passages in this short treatise in which τό or τοῦ and an infinitive gives us trouble. See 4. 6 : 5. 7 : 8. 3 : each of which has its own peculiarities, not easy to deal with in any one way.

4. §§ 3, 4 seem quite inadequate after the marked introduction of the subject by ὡς οὖν κ.τ.λ., ἐξηγήσομαι, and, even if we ignore that, leave the whole thing quite imperfectly stated. What are the men chosen to do? Something must have been lost.

5. 8. It is clear that the words ὡς μήποτε αὐτοὶ ἐλάττους τῶν σιτίων γίνεσθαι must be altered in some such way as Hug suggests, so as to convey the meaning that the exercises (πόντοι) of the men, not the men themselves (which is meaningless), were to be μὴ ἐλάττους τῶν σιτίων. The φιλοπονῇ preceding proves this, and I had conjectured the same thing before seeing Hug's emendation. I should suggest ὡς μήποτε αὐτοῖς <πόντους> ἐλάττους κ.τ.λ. ἐπιμελεῖσθαι ὡς (ὥστε) with infinitive would seem admissible, even if it does not actually occur.

7. 4 τοῦ γε εἰς τοὺς συσκήνους ἔνεκα ἔχειν δαπανᾶν.

As the construction is ἔνεκα τοῦ ἔχειν δαπανᾶν, the order is very remarkable, and I do not feel sure that it can be right.

ιβ. 5 καὶ γὰρ χώρας μεγάλης καὶ ἀμάξης ἀγωγῆς δεοῖτ' ἂν.

From the parallel passage in Plutarch ἀποθήκης τε μεγάλης καὶ ζεύγους ἄγοντος Dindorf would read ἀγούσης for ἀγωγῆς. Perhaps it should be ἀξούσης here and ἄξοντος in Plutarch, for the future is much more idiomatic.

9. 5 γυναικὸς δὲ κενὴν ἑστίαν οὐ περιοπτόεν.

οὐ, which gives quite the wrong meaning, is wanting in one MS. of some value and is omitted by Dindorf. Perhaps we should read αὐ, a word which occurs many times in this book, and is used in 13. 10 and 15. 5 just as it would be here, to introduce a new, not a contrasted, point.

11. 2 ἀπάντων τὰ μὲν ἀμάξῃ προστέτακται παρέχειν, τὰ δὲ ἐποζυγίῳ.

Editors now read ἅπαντα, but the datives remain without proper construction. I thought first of μὲν <ἐν>, which would still leave ὑποζυγίῳ rather doubtful. Now I incline to change ἀπάντων or ἅπαντα to ἄγοντα.

ib. 10. Jebb's emendation of ἀποθούσιν to ἀποθεν (better ἀπωθεν ?) οὖσιν and omission of ἧ should certainly be received. When he writes ἀποθεν οὖσιν ἀντιπάλους etc. (Dakyns' *Xenophon*, ii. 317 n. 3), I take ἀντιπάλους to be a slip of the pen for ἐναντίους.

12. 7 παραλειμμένα . . ὅσα δὲ ἐπιμελείας. Surely δέεται is as necessary as it is well

attested, though neither Dindorf nor Pierleoni adopts it. The genitive ἐπιμελείας cannot well depend upon ὅσα.

15. 6 μᾶλλον should perhaps be μάλιστα, a change that has to be made in other passages. In μᾶλλον the reference is not definite enough.

HERBERT RICHARDS.

MORE PROHIBITIONS IN GREEK.

I wish to thank Dr. Headlam for his courteous reply to my paper in vol. xix. p. 30, and to apologise for my delay, which is owing to an affection of the eyes.

I am still only half-convinced: that is, I feel that Dr. Headlam has a strong case only so far as the aorist, e.g. μὴ ποιήσης, is concerned. I am told that my instances must be regarded, at most, as exceptions to the rule. But these exceptions mount to considerable proportions when we neglect the vast majority of cases where it is impossible to decide whether, e.g. μὴ ποίει must of necessity mean 'cease doing.' One may fairly ask why, if the distinction was so universally observed, Greek found it necessary at all to say παύσαι λέγουσα (*Eur. Hipp.* 706) and the like.

I append a few more instances of μὴ + pres. imperat. which certainly do not mean 'cease what you are doing.' My references are to Bekker's text.

Dem. 1005. 11:

ἂν δὲ φῇ δεινὰ πάσχειν καὶ κλάῃ καὶ οὐδύρηται καὶ κατηγοροῖ μόν, ἂ μὲν ἂν λέγῃ, μὴ πιστεύετε.

1017. 15:

ἐὰν μὲν ἐπιχειρῇ ταῦτα λέγειν, μὴ ἐπιτρέπετε ἀναισχυντείν. Add 1021. 29, 1024. 7, 1026. 22,—all, μὴ ἐπιτρέπετε and all, as the context shows, referring to the future.

523. 17:

μὴ δὴ τοῦτο λέγειν αὐτὸν ἔατε. The ἐρῶν in 522. 24 proves that ἔατε does not mean 'cease allowing.'

527. 10:

μὴ τοῖνυν ἔατε ταῦτ' αὐτὸν λέγειν, μὴδ', ἂν βιάζηται, πείθεσθ' ὥς δίκαιόν τι λέγοντι.

The future reference of ἔατε and πείθεσθε is shown by the sentence following and by μέλλειν 525. 25.

Aristoph. *Birds* 1532-1534:

ἤξονσι πρέσβεις δεῦρο περὶ διαλλαγῶν
παρὰ τοῦ Διὸς
ὑμεῖς δὲ μὴ σπένδεσθε.

Frogs 618-622:

Aeacus says: καὶ πῶς βασανίσω; to which Xanthias replies:

δῆσας, κρεμάσας . . . πλὴν πράσῳ
μὴ τύπτει τοῦτον μὴδὲ γητείῳ νέφ.

Plato *Rep.* 338 A is interesting:

μὴ οὖν ἄλλως ποίει, ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ τε χαρίζου ἀποκρινόμενος καὶ μὴ φθονήσης καὶ Γλαύκωνα τόνδε διδάξαι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους.

It seems to me that μὴ ποίει is here used merely because μὴ ἄλλως ποίει is phraseological, i.e. an idiom of *polite* remonstrance (see *C.R.* xix. p. 27).

Is μὴ ἄλλως ποιήσης found?

I have kept Dem. 582. 15. to the last, as it might be made to prove anything. The text there runs:

μὴ κατὰ τοὺς νόμους δικάσῃτε· μὴ βοηθήσῃτε τῷ πεπονθότι δεινὰ· μὴ εὐορκεῖτε.

H. DARNLEY NAYLOR.

Ormond College, Melbourne University.

TWO TACHYGRAPHICAL NOTES.

Schol. Aesch. Pers. 184.

πρόσεχε τῇ ᾧ τοῦ ὁ
νείρου ἀναγνώσει

Since the sign which follows τῇ is printed by Dähnhardt (Scholl. in Aesch. Pers. 1894) and Wecklein (in his edition) with a certain mystery, it may be worth while to notice that the facsimile clearly shews that it means αὐτῆς. The writer of the scholia (all in one hand) added the word above the line, and to save space used this abbreviation. Αὐτός is regularly abbreviated by the symbol for the case-ending with a stroke across to indicate omission: so

ἰ = αὐτοῦ, Coislin 387 (Rhetorica), Paris grec 1678 (Plutarch), Vat. Pal. 173 (Plato), Nonnus B. M. Add. MSS. 18231, Paris grec 2036 (Aristotle, etc.), Vat. Reg. 181 (a. 1364) in a table of signs.

⸗ = αὐτόν, Coislin 387, Nonnus.

⸘ = αὐτός, Nonnus.

⸚ = αὐτοῖς, Nonnus.

All these MSS. except Reg. 181 are of s. x or x-xi. Except in the Nonnus MS. the

system is not common in the *Scuola di san Nilo*. Zereteli has a case of εαυτῶν from the facsimile of the same MS.

Tachygraphy occasionally intrudes into literary texts for the same reason, to economise space. Barocci 50 (s. x-xi) the admirable MS. to which we owe the oldest text of the *Batrachomyomachia*, and of Hero and Leander, beside many grammarians, on f. 8 v. runs thus:

ἡ ὁ συλλαβὴ ἔχουσα μεθ' εαυτὴν ἔν τι τῶν διπλῶν εἴτε κατὰ τὸ μέσον ἐν ἀπλῇ καὶ ἀκινήτῃ λέξει κ.τ.λ. (Theognostus in Cramer, *An. Ox.* ii. p. 14). The sentence though printed telle quelle in the *An. Ox.* is defective, and the scribe noticed the defect, for above the line, from διπλῶν to κατὰ we have eight signs, of which the following is an enlarged representation:

⸗ ⸘ ⸚ ⸗ ⸘ ⸚ ⸗ ⸘

i.e. syllabically εἰ τε κατὰ χην λεξέως, or εἴτε κατ' ἀρχὴν λεξέως. This should be restored in the text after διπλῶν.

T. W. ALLEN.

THE CODEX LUSATICUS OF PROPERTIUS.

IN or about the year 1893 Herr Peper discovered a paper manuscript of Propertius and published an account and estimate of it in the *Neues Lausitzisches Magazin* together with a collation of Book I. As scholars are not habitual readers of the *Neues Lausitzisches Magazin*, it is hardly strange that Herr Peper's discovery attracted no attention, and so Herr P. Koehler chose it for his degree thesis at Marburg in the year 1899. The codex was again unfortunate; and (as Herr Koehler complains) no notice was taken of his dissertation save by the Professor who suggested and examined it. Now for a third time the codex woos public favour, in the pages of *Philologus* vol. xviii. pp. 414 sqq., under the title 'Eine neue Properzhandschrift.'

Herr Peper named his codex *Lusaticus*, although it was found 'in bibliotheca Górlitziana,' and Herr Koehler lettered it as

L, though he was aware¹ that this was already the denotation of Lord Leicester's manuscript at Holkham. To the capital which has now been employed for the latter MS in two editions of Propertius the 'Lusaticus' has no right; but it may be, and in this paper will be, abbreviated as l for a reason that will presently appear.

At the end of l stands a subscription *Finis. padue* 1469. The latter word and the figures Herr Peper naturally thought fixed the place and the date of writing. But Herr Koehler insists that they are not in the handwriting of the scribe but of the reviser. This they may be, and yet the date be correct, for the revision may well have been contemporary. The particulars of Herr

¹ From my pamphlet *On Certain Manuscripts of Propertius*, published as a part of vol. iv. of the *Transactions of the Cambridge Philological Society*, 1894.

Koehler's description of the codex in his dissertation tend to support the view that it was written in Northern Italy and towards the close of the fifteenth century. Herr Koehler thinks that it is or, may be, as early as the beginning of the century; but this opinion is not that of an expert on MSS.¹ Accordingly I shall not reject Herr Peper's view that the subscription gives what apparently it purports to give, the date and place of writing of the MS.²

The four most ancient amongst the known MSS of Propertius are the Neapolitanus (N), 12th century, the Vossianus (A), which ends at II. 1. 63, end of 13th or beginning of 14th, the Laurentianus (F), latter part of 14th, and the 'Holkhamicus' (L), which begins at II. 21. 3, written in 1421. Of these L is the manuscript to which I is nearest in date, and with L it has some striking coincidences. On these Herr Koehler is silent in *Philologus*, but in the dissertation (p. 62) he observes that they prove that the MSS 'aliquam fontis communionem habere.'

As illustrations I quote III. 3. 11 *lacies* L (*lares* F, *lacies* N, *alacres* DV) 12. 34 *latreus* L (*latus* F, *lacus* NDV), IV. 2. 34 *Faunor* L (*Fauor* N, *Fauuor* F with *n* written over the second *u*), *Faunus* DV. To Herr Koehler's examples might be added II. 24. 27 *Terra* L, *Tetra* the rest, IV. 4. 5 *Siluan* L, *Siluan* the rest, 7. 16 *trista* L, *trita* the rest, 10. 46 *circo* L, *certo* the rest. The first line of III. 22. 1 shows two curious similarities. L has *Circiter* for *Cyzicus*, but *citer* are over an erasure *a*, but

by an early corrector. In I *Circiter* is written over *Cyzicus*. It is probable that the source had *Cizzicus* with *Circiter* above. At the end in L the same corrector has altered *annus* to *annos*: I has *ān* and the *os* written over the line.

The most singular coincidence between the two MSS Herr Koehler appears to have overlooked altogether. In IV. 8. 31 L has a blank space of some 5 letters between the words *inter* and *Teia*, and between the same words I has a dash which I learn from Prof. Schmidt extends over the space of three or four letters. ('Der strich ist ganz schwach und würde etwa 3-4 buchstaben ausfüllen.').

I have shown, *op. cit.* pp. 21 *sqq.*, that L cannot be separated from F, with which it stands in the closest connexion, and have given reasons for believing that L is a copy of the exemplar of F. Now either I owes its similarities to L to derivation, mediate or immediate, from L itself, in which case it will be of no value save as it may attest readings of L in places where L is now lost, that is from I. 1. 1 to II. 21. 3, or else to derivation from the source of L, that is the common exemplar of L and F. Our first task then is to examine the relations of the three MSS.

For this I will take their readings for II. xxvi. (compare my pamphlet, p. 26).

I neglect trifles of writing, omit readings which are common to the trio, and take account only of what the first hands have written.

F	L	I
3 fueris	fueris	<i>fueras</i> (NDV)
5 agitaui	agitauit	<i>agitatum</i> (NDV)
9 Que tum	Quem cum	Que tum
que tum	quantum	que tum
ferri	ferri	<i>fratri</i> (NDV)
10 leucothoe	leucothoe	leucothoe (u ex n corr.)
12 meum nomen	meum nomen	nomen meum
iam	iam	pe iam (<i>del. m. 1</i>)
14 Esses	Esses	Esse
15 prae inuidia (DV)	ob inuidiam (N)	ob inuidiam
18 Qui	Quod	Qui
19 summo me	om.	summo me
23 { cambise	{ cambise	{ cambyse
croesi	chroesi	chroesi
25 audisse	odisse	odisse (NDV)
34 pupis	puppis	puppis (NDV)
36 Velaque	Vela quod	<i>Velaque</i> in (NDV)
hauster	auster	auster

¹ As Baehrens misdated every one of the Propertian MSS. that he used except F, whose first owners' names are written inside it (*Classical Review*, ix. p. 182), it is not extravagant to suggest that novices may be mistaken.

² The courtesy of Prof. Schmidt, the Librarian of Götting, now enables me to give the opinion of two

other eyewitnesses. He writes "padue 1469" is written in different and paler ink but by the same hand. Prof. Dr. Fecht, the Secretary of the Oberlausitzische Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, agrees with this opinion.' The word *finis* is of course by the scribe.

F	L	I
38 <i>ēboico</i> (u <i>inter e et b supr. lin.</i>)	<i>eboyco</i>	<i>euboico</i> (NDV)
39 <i>mouistis</i>	<i>nouistis</i>	<i>mouistis</i>
40 <i>ergo</i>	<i>ergo</i>	<i>argo</i> (NDV)
40 <i>Duxerat</i>	<i>Duxerat</i>	<i>Dux erat</i>
41 <i>spectat</i>	<i>spectat</i>	<i>desit</i> (NDV)
43 <i>hys'am</i>	<i>hys'am</i>	<i>isdem</i> (NDV)
44 <i>quoque</i>	<i>quoque</i>	<i>modo</i> (NV ²)
46 <i>fratri</i>	<i>ferri</i>	<i>fratri</i>
47 <i>a minione</i>	<i>amimone</i>	<i>ammimone</i> (<i>expunxit m. 1</i>)
49 <i>uocū percussit</i>	<i>uotum persoluit</i>	<i>uotum persoluit</i>
51 <i>orithia</i>	<i>orithia</i>	<i>orythia</i>
53 <i>mutescet</i>	<i>mutescet</i> (DV)	<i>mitescet</i>
<i>scilla</i>	<i>scylla</i>	<i>sylla</i>

It requires no long scrutiny of this list to see that L is nearer than I to the common original which I have called Φ . This is shown even by its corruptions. In l. 36 *in* had been omitted before '*in certum*' in the text of Φ and was therefore omitted by F: in L it is omitted, but the metrical gap has been filled by changing *que* to *quod*. On two other readings I may repeat what I wrote in 1894. "9 '*ferri*' FL: the source had '*fri*' (= '*fratri*') as also in 46, where L alone has misread it: 43 '*hys'am*' F = '*hys'am*' L: the source had '*hisd'm*' i.e. '*hisdem*' with a frequent compendium for *de*." Here what L gives us is of real help towards the ascertainment of the readings of the lost codex, not so those of I, in which the tradition has been altogether abandoned.

I have shown (*op. cit.* pp. 29 sqq.) that L is a 'conflated' codex or in other words that a number of its readings are derived from a source exterior to Φ . Such readings are 'ob inuidiam' 15, 'odisse,' 25, and perhaps 'uotum persoluit' 49,¹ 'mutescet' 53 and the spellings 'puppis' 34 and 'auster' 36, though these might be regarded as due to the scribe of the manuscript himself. All these deviations, except 'mutescet,' are in I: and in addition further deviations in 3, 5, 9, 36, 38, 39, 41, 43, 44. It is not disputed that these changes are improvements. But that is not the point. The grounds on which we decide for one reading or another are partly intrinsic and partly extrinsic. Of the intrinsic merits of a reading we judge ourselves: we do not delegate our judgment to a medieval copyist. From this point of view all manuscripts are useless. If a manuscript however good presents a series of letters or words that is devoid of meaning, we do not say that the author was temporarily demented: we say that the manuscript is locally corrupt. Extrinsically again we prefer the more faithful to the less faithful witness and *ceteris paribus* the more

ancient to the more recent one. For readings of Φ L is a much superior authority to I, and for what we may call extra- Φ readings N is a higher authority still.

I would not however assert that I is altogether worthless. On the contrary, it has a certain value in the part where both A and L fail us and F is the sole representative of its family. Further it is possible that a few vestiges of truth have come down to us in I which have been corrupted in F and L. The possibility that good readings have been introduced from some source hitherto unknown is too shadowy to be reckoned with.

From II. 21 onwards Herr Koehler cites the following passages '*ubi L solus rectam lectionem praebet.*'

- II. 28. 16 *ueniet* L V *corr.*, *ueniet* Ω .²
 ib. 35 *rhombi* L F *corr.*, *rombi* Φ , cf. III.
 6. 26 *rhombi* L V *corr.*, *rombi* or *rumbi* Φ .
 31. 3 *columnis* L F *corr.* V *mg.*, *columbis* Ω .
 III. 1. 22 *reddet* L F *corr.* V *corr.*, *reddit* Ω .
 3. 32 *rostra* L F *corr.* V *corr.*, *nostra* Ω .
 5. 6 *aera* l *codd.* *dett.*, *aere* N, *ire* the rest.
 6. 3 *Num* l *codd.* *dett.* *Non* N, *Dum* the rest.
 [6. 41 *Quod mihi si* L F *corr.* V *corr.* omitted as the true reading is uncertain.]
 [9. 14 omitted as L and l have the same reading.]
 10. 17 *polles* L F *corr.* Φ V *corr.*, *pelles* Ω .
 11. 61 *Curtius* L F *mg.* V *corr.* *Durius* Ω .
 16. 13 *ambulet* *Inscr.* *Pomp.* l V *corr.*, *ambulat* Ω .
 [22. 1 *annos*, so L.]
 22. 23 *Clitumnus* L F *corr.*, the variants in other MSS point to *licumnus* or *litumnus* as the reading of Ω .
 IV. 1. 106 *Vmbra* *ue* *que* l, *Vmbrane* *que* N, *Vmbraque* *ne* the rest.
 ib. 117 *iliade* l *codd.* *dett.*, o *iliade* Ω .
 2. 35 *eius* l *codd.* *dett.*, *elus* Ω .
 3. 7 *bactra* l V *corr.*, *blactra* Ω .
 6. 25 *nerius* l *codd.* *dett.*, *neruis* Ω .
 7. 63 *Andromedeque* l V *corr.*, *Andromedaeque* N, *Andromad(a)que* the rest.

Now in this list there seems to be nothing in which I can be said to have alone preserved

² I use this symbol for the whole of our MS authority AFDLNV as in the notes to the Corpus text of Propertius. Herr Koehler's use of it is similar.

¹ Bachrens' silence about F cannot be trusted; see *op. cit.* pp. 56 sqq.

the truth. It might perhaps be contended that e.g. 'polles' III. 10. 17 and 'eius' IV. 2. 35 are such cases. But it must be observed that there are two witnesses (and better witnesses) to one that 'pelles,' 'elus' stood in Φ and three to one that it stood in Ω. I have chosen these as examples, as the difference in writing is very slight and mistake easy: where the difference is greater, the theory is still more improbable. Our conclusion must be that these readings are either derived by l from some source at present untraced or that they are conjectures, in most instances easy conjectures, of the Renaissance.

[I have purposely omitted from the list 3 lections, included by Herr Koehler, from passages which were in the lost leaf of the Neapolitanus, IV. 11. 29 'trophea decori,' 43 'Non fuit,' 46 'insignes,' because, as they are attested by the Memmianus Par. 8233 (*op. cit.* pp. 42 *sqq.*), whose date is 1465, l's right to them is not established.]

In matters of orthography the contention that l has preserved the truth where other witnesses have corrupted it is somewhat more probable. The following may be instances. I. 17. 2 *adloquor*, III. 6. 17 *Vmidaque*, IV.

11. 28 *umeros* (m. 1 altered by m. 2 to *humeros*).

It has been necessary to examine l's pretensions at some length because of Herr Koehler's different estimate. This he promulgates, in blissful ignorance or naive disregard of the way to deal with manuscript testimony, as follows:—

'As L unites the merits of both classes of manuscripts it is best fitted to form with N the basis of the text of Propertius. For only rarely is it necessary, as for example in passages where N is wanting, to have recourse to the remaining manuscripts.'—*Philologus*, p. 417.

We may see from the remarks of Herr Th. Birt (*Berl. Phil. Wochenschrift*, 1898, p. 1291; *Archiv*. xv. p. 77 n.) and Signor P. Rasi (*Rivista di filologia*, 1906, p. 454)¹ that there is a danger of these views imposing upon those who are no experts in the textual criticism of Propertius.

J. P. POSTGATE.

¹ Signor Rasi goes so far as to say of this manuscript that it is 'omnium praestantissimus post codicem Neapolitanum quo socio optime ualeat ad textum Propertianum statuendum.'

REVIEWS.

RECENT EDITIONS OF ARISTOPHANES.

Aristophanis Ecclesiazusae. Cum prolegomenis et commentariis edidit J. VAN LEEUWEN J. F. Lugduni Batavorum apud A. W. Sijthoff. 1905. Pp. xxii + 160. 5s.

Aristophanis Pax. (The same.) 1906. Pp. xi + 201. 5s.

Vindiciae Aristophaneae. Scripsit H. VAN HERWERDEN. Sijthoff. 1906. Pp. 124. 3s. 6d.

Aristophanes' Acharnians. Edited by C. E. GRAVES, M.A. Cambridge: at the University Press. 1905. Pp. xvi + 143. 3s.

THE two concluding parts of the excellent Dutch Aristophanes—for it is now complete, fragments excepted—do not call for any long notice. They have the same features as the earlier volumes. The editor is still perhaps too ready to introduce novelties into the text. But I am not quite the right person to complain, as he has adopted several suggestions of my own from this *Review*.

I may mention some of the changes he himself makes or suggests:

Eccles. 78 ὥπερ λέγων διερεΐδεται for τῶν σκυτάλων ὧν πέρδεται: 148 ἐργαστίον: 153 κατά γε δύναμιν τὴν ἐμὴν for κατά γε τὴν ἐμὴν μίαν: 495 μὴ καὶ τις ἡμῖν ἐντυχὼν τοῖς ἀνδράσιν κατέπη: 554 σηπία: 587 αὐτῆς for ἄλλης: 622 οὐ for καὶ: 627 δωματίοισιν for δημοσίοισιν: 672 διδάξον for ποιήσει: 1106 εἰσπεσών. He would put 22 after 1, reading ὥς with Bruck.

Peace 18 κάρδοπον for ἀντλίαν: 95 τλήμων for τί μάτην: 219 μεθώμεν τήμερον for ἔχωμεν τὴν πόλιν: 337 χορεύει: 605 πρῶτα μὲν γὰρ ἤγξεν αὐτήν: 834 τίς λαμπρότατος νῦν ἐστὶ for τίς ἐστὶν ἀσπὴρ νῦν: 989 οἱ σοὶ <χωρίς> τρυχόμεθ' ἤδη, omitting ἡμῖν: 1154 ἐξ παρ' Αἰσχίνου for ἐξ Αἰσχινάδου. In 754 he writes (from the *Wasps*) θρασείως ξυστὰς εὐθὺς ἀπ' ἀρχῆς with Hamaker, plausibly makes some substantives exchange places in 758, and boldly turns two or three verbs in the context from first person to third. Still bolder

is his treatment of 503 foll. Lines 365, 417, 744, 831 he thinks should be omitted altogether.

Without discussing at any length the difficult question of the staging of the *Peace*, he takes the house of Zeus to be shown on a higher level than that of Trygaeus. The image of Peace is tall enough to allow of her whispering into Hermes' ear at 661, and it is from the higher level that Trygaeus and Hermes direct the operation of raising her from the pit, the chorus being on earth while they (Trygaeus and Hermes) are in heaven. In a lively Latin preface to the *Ecclesiastusae* he dwells on the small part played by women in the first six plays of Aristophanes and in early tragedy (Aeschylus' women are men and those of Sophocles are at least virile), and on the place of women at Athens generally, going on to speak of the subsequent change of spirit in the poet and the change of subject in the later plays. He accepts 392 as the date of the *E.* and thinks that Aristophanes had Plato little, if at all, in mind. As to the *Peace* he holds that there was no second edition.

In the *Vindiciae* van Herwerden has put together a very miscellaneous collection of notes bearing on the text of Aristophanes and on recent criticism. Naturally they refer most of all to the edition of van Leeuwen, which is highly praised and the excessive boldness of its conjectures (I have

given examples above) not sufficiently pointed out. But other commentators and critics are also taken into account, Mazon, Willems, Blaydes' *magnum opus*, Starkie's *Wasps*, my own articles in this *Review*, and from time to time all sorts of Aristophanic work. Sometimes the writer only gives a critic's proposal with just a word of acceptance; sometimes he challenges and controverts it. Many of the notes consist merely of a reference to the volume of *Mnemosyne* in which he previously discussed a passage, the object of the book being to bring together either explicitly or by these references all that he has or has had to say. There is a good deal that is new, perhaps not much of first-rate importance, for he has done so much before that we could not expect much still to come. The notices of other men's work are always courteous and kindly, but it is not always apparent why one thing is noticed, whether with praise or dissent, and another not. It is indeed a rather casual, series of notes, but, like his *Collectanea* of 1903 on the *Comic Fragments* and in a greater degree, it has a good deal of interest for any one who is fond of Greek comedy.

Mr. Graves' *Acharnians* is a fair school-book, not aiming at anything more and not, I think, with any marked features. It has a few critical notes below the text and some eighty pages of commentary.

H. RICHARDS.

MARSHALL'S ARISTOTLE'S THEORY OF CONDUCT.

Aristotle's Theory of Conduct. By THOMAS MARSHALL. London: Fisher Unwin. 1906. 8vo. Pp. 600. 21s. net.

THIS book, in which 'an attempt is made to present Aristotle's *Ethics* in a readable shape' has considerable merits, and, if only its price were more moderate, it might be recommended to many students and that not only the weakest among them. After a general introduction of some thirty pages the author goes through the *Ethics* analysing, paraphrasing, commenting, and illustrating. He is clear and intelligible, sensible and often decidedly shrewd in his remarks, and he writes in an interesting way. The book gives a very fair account of the contents of the *Ethics*, sometimes a truer one than more ambitious writers, and

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takes often a just view of its merits and defects. Apart from many unpardonable errors in the Greek quotations, for which he apologises in a note (and with which 'apothegm' in his preface may be ranked), I find things which I cannot quite agree with, a few such as the statement (p. 196) that 'the words $\alpha\mu\alpha\ \tau\eta\ \phi\rho\omicron\nu\eta\sigma\epsilon\iota\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\sigma\alpha\iota\ \upsilon\pi\acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\nu$ here mean that all the virtues will be found to stand to prudence in the relation of species to genus'; the explanation (p. 311) of $\tau\acute{o}\ \pi\rho\acute{\omega}\tau\omicron\nu$ ($\delta\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\omicron\nu$); the account of the exact nature of distributive and 'regulative' (the author's word) justice; his difficulty (pp. 274, 296) in bringing justice under the theory of the mean; and his application of the illustration in 3. 3. 18 from the Homeric 'constitutions,' where Grant too went wrong. He seems not to know of the light thrown

A A

on 7. 4. 2 by an Oxyrhynchus papyrus. Much more serious than any of these small details is his choice of certain words to express Aristotelian terms. No one can ever really understand the *Ethics* who is taught to think of *eὐδαιμονία* as 'happiness,' or even who has 'habit' given him as an equivalent of *ἔξις*. 'Intuition' is very questionable for *νοῦς*; 'voluntary' and 'involuntary' do not fairly represent *ἐκούσιον* and *ἀκούσιον*, unless we considerably alter their ordinary English

meaning. Whether in 10. 9 of *σοφισταί* is well rendered by 'Professors,' I will not venture to say. The use of inverted commas is sometimes misleading and may give the idea of a much closer translation than the author really attempts. There is a useful index. I hope to see a second edition, revised in places and much cheaper.

H. RICHARDS.

HOSIUS' LUCAN.

M. Annaei Lucani de Bello Civili Libri decem. G. Steinhartii aliorumque copiiis usus iterum edidit CAROLUS HOSIUS. Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1905. Svo. Pp. lx + 374. Price M. 4.50.

In the year 1892 appeared Dr. Hosius' first edition of *Lucan*, and all scholars interested in the poet rejoiced that a really scientific text was at last available. The great merits of Hosius' work were duly recognized in this *Review* (viii, pp. 34 ff.) as marking 'an important epoch in the critical study of *Lucan*.' After the lapse of thirteen years we have now the opportunity of welcoming a second edition. In the interval much study has been devoted to the *De Bello civili*, and if it is true that the new light shed on one of the most complicated of textual problems has often served merely to make the complication more evident, it is no less true that the elucidation of many obscure points by various scholars has materially advanced our prospects of a final solution of the great enigma.

In 1894 Lejay published at Paris a scholarly edition of Book I, with a long introduction containing, among other things, an account of the MSS and a discussion of their relationships. The chief importance of this book lies in the fact that it drew attention to several Paris codices of which Hosius had taken practically no account.¹ But Lejay's edition has been strangely overlooked by most scholars. Beck, in a work which will shortly be mentioned, says that it is hardly to be found in a single

¹ Lejay's discussion of the relationships of the MSS shows much industry and acumen, but it is vitiated by some very serious oversights, which will be mentioned later.

state or university library in Germany. The year 1894 saw also the publication of Genthe's dissertation on the codex *Erlangensis* (E).

Even before Hosius' first edition was published, C. M. Francken had shown his interest in *Lucan* by several articles in *Mnemosyne*, and in 1896 and 1897 appeared the two volumes of his edition. Francken's opinions about the MSS do not, on the whole, differ very much from those which had been expressed by Hosius, but he uses a few codices which had, for the most part, been neglected by former editors. Of these, the ninth-century *Ashburnhamensis* (A), which Lejay had used for Book I, is in some respects the most notable. Full use was made of this MS by Mr. Heitland in editing *Lucan* for the new *Corpus Poetarum* (1900). The same scholar has also made in this journal several valuable contributions to the study of *Lucan*'s text.

In the same year in which Mr. Heitland's text appeared there was published at Munich a doctoral dissertation entitled *Untersuchungen zu den Handschriften Lucans*, by Friedrich Beck. This is probably the most important treatise that has ever been published on the subject. Beck availed himself of previous labours in the same field, and he had also examined some MSS previously ignored. He aimed at comprehensiveness, and therein lies his chief fault. The problem of *Lucan*'s text is a tangle of broken threads which are not likely to be unravelled and sorted out for many a long day to come. Beck's 'scharfe Scheidung und Ableitung'² was rash in itself; it was doubly rash, because he had a very defective

² The words are those of Hosius in his review of Beck's work, *Berl. Phil. Woch.* Feb. 23, 1901.

knowledge of some of the chief MSS; but his treatise is a model of industry and exceedingly useful to all students of the subject. With his revolutionary judgment concerning A, which will soon be mentioned, all must agree.

The foregoing is a very brief summary of the research which made a revision of Hosius' edition necessary. 'Ne mea quidem omnia,' he says, 'quae antehac praedicavi,

recto etiam talo stare concedo, neque me piget aliqua ex parte palinodiam cantare atque delere, quae falsa esse aut alii evicerunt aut ipse repetitis curis perspexi' (*Praef.* p. xxx). After this frank statement one is prepared to find considerable alterations in the second edition. How great these alterations are may be judged by a comparison of the following small extracts from the *apparatus criticus* of both editions (p. 115, Bk. IV. 620-639).

ED. I.

620 Mirantur (antur *in ras.*) M Miraturque B, U
vg | neque G, || 623 gelide C fesso gel. V || 624 Tum
Um | tum MUG || 625 Vrgere (M, ?) B, || 630 vena
M, || 632 lax. robore V | nudos B, || 634 undis *in ras.*
M arvis (C)mob || 636 Confixere M, | partes B, || 637
separare B, | noverca M, || 639 exsuccam Bothe |
conferre B,.

ED. II.

620 (Mir)antur(que) *in ras.* M Miraturque ZUvg |
neque G, || 623 gelide C fesso gel. V || 624 Tum
Ump | tum MPZ,UG || 625 Vrguere Z, (M, ?) || 627
& ad Z, (M, ?) | complet ilibus ss. z || 628 descendit P
|| 630 vena M, Z, || 632 lax. robore V || 634 duris P |
undis *in ras.* M arvis Z, (C)m || 636 Confixere M, ||
noverca M, Z, || 639 exsuccam Bothe.

These examples are enough to show that the *apparatus* has been largely re-written. B has practically disappeared, and two new symbols, Z and P, are prominent. The alterations are of such interest and importance to the student of Lucan, that it may not be out of place to explain them here at some length, and I am indebted to the kindness of the editor for permission to do so.

Briefly stated, the view taken in Hosius' first edition as to the relationships of the MSS and their respective value is as follows. There are three classes. The first consists of codices which go back to the recension of 'Paulus Constantinopolitanus,' the mysterious individual mentioned at the end of some of the books in a few extant codices (*Paulus Constantinopolitanus emendavi manu mea solus*). The MSS belonging to this first class are M (*Montepessulanus* H 113) and two Berne codices, B and C, which, though they have not the *subscriptio Paulina*, show kinship with M. The second class is represented by V (*Vossianus I*), which seems to be the only pure representative of its family. U (*Vossianus II*) and some other MSS come midway between the first two classes, being a mixture of both. The third class consists of three fragments of palimpsests, perhaps of the fourth century, which contain parts of Books V, VI, and VII. One of these fragments preserved at Naples seems to be part of the same codex to which a palimpsest at Vienna belongs, and both portions are denoted by the symbol N in Hosius' edition. The other palimpsest is the 'Palatine' or 'Roman' fragment (II). According to Hosius Class I and U are

most valuable, but the other codices must not be neglected.

The most important addition which subsequent criticism has made to our knowledge of the subject is derived from the MS denoted by the symbol Z, a ninth-century codex, Bibl. nat. lat. 10,314. It hails from the abbey of Epternach, as M. Omont believes. It is written by various scribes, and is much 'corrected,' though I venture to doubt if the 'correctors' are as numerous as Lejay supposes. The 'vulgar' errors in the codex are very numerous. Lejay mentions the following: i 129 *cogiere*, 166 *fuitur* (for *fugitur*), 195 and 225 *agit* (for *ait*) and several others. Even a cursory examination is sufficient to show that the readings of Z and of M present a very marked similarity, and M, instead of being *paene gemellus* of B, as Hosius formerly thought, stands in some such relation to Z. It is satisfactory to note that in his second edition Hosius is careful to point out that the resemblance just mentioned subsists between the first hands of the two MSS. Both Z and M have been very plentifully 'corrected,' and writers on the present subject have not always distinguished between the original text and subsequent insertions, though the distinction is of prime importance. As M is generally rated high by scholars, an earlier MS which is closely allied to it must possess great interest. The resemblance between the two codices will be evident if we compare their readings in any passage chosen at random. Let us take a few examples from the latter half of Book IV.

412	campus Z ₁ M ₁	campum O
417	fuga Z ₁ M ₁	fugae
477	consulit Z ₁ M ₁	consulite
483	redere Z reddere M ₁	prodere s. perdere
491	obrupta Z ₁ M ₁	obruta
509	quod Z M ₁	quid
523	pauerunt Z M ₁	pauent
525	mergere Z ₁ M ₁	uergere
531	temptare Z ₁ M ₁	temptauere (tent.)
578	O ferrum Z ₁ M ₁	ob f.
590	quas Z ₁ *M	quae
604	Adsuerant Z ₁ M ₁	adsuerunt
630	uena Z ₁ M ₁	uenae
637	nouerca Z ₁ M ₁	nouercae
645	tandemque Z ₁ M ₁	tandem
658	potiti Z† M ₁	potito
695	caesaries Z ₁ M ₁	caesareis
710	odore Z ₁ M ₁	odere
761	illi Z ₁ M ₁	ulli
786	uidit Z ₁ † M ₁	uidet
788	inuisos Z ₁ M ₁	inuisas

From this list it will be seen that Z and M frequently agree in readings which are obviously false; and it is an elementary principle of textual criticism that concurrence in errors is one of the strongest proofs of kinship between two MSS. At this point, a question naturally suggests itself,—

can Z throw any light on the original reading of M in the many cases in which, owing to erasure or other cause, that reading is very doubtful. We shall find our answer in the part of Book IV with which we have just been concerned.

411	proserit s in rasura duo litt. M (Francken)	prosterit Z ₁
438	odoratae (d in ras.) M‡	ororatae Z ₁ §
459	tectum (tec in ras. 6 litt.) M (Francken)	effectum Z ₁
465	sensit (sit in ras.) M	sentis Z ₁
563	incurrunt (u in ras.) M	incurrant Z ₁
571	conspicitur (sp. in ras.) M	conficitur Z ₁
612	cleonei (cle in ras.) M	cifonaei Z ₁
	proiecit (iecit in ras.) M	prolegit Z ₁
645	tactae (t in ras.) M	factae Z ₁
688	concitus (tu in ras.) M	concilus Z ₁
739	ciuille suum (e suum in ras.) M	ciuilis suum Z§
782	pressis stipataque (sis stipataque in ras.) M	pressistipataque Z §
805	urbi (bi in ras.) M (Francken)	urbes Z ₁
821	fecerit (it in ras.) M	feceret Z ₁

In some cases (e.g. iii 350, 718; iv 741; v 322, 779; vi 405) M can be used to restore the original reading of Z. Again, if we apply to the two MSS the criterion of omitted lines, we shall find one more bond of union between them, for several lines were originally omitted in these codices but in no other. Such are ii 463-4; iii 146, 608; v 810; vii 607, 725.

But in spite of these striking resemblances, neither of the two MSS is copied from the

other. The evidence on this head is quite convincing, but cannot be set down within the limits of this review. They must, then, be derived from a common original, which Hosius denotes by the symbol ϕ . They cannot, however, both be direct copies of ϕ , as Hosius considers possible. It seems certain that Z, at least, comes from ϕ through an intermediate codex.¹

¹ The proofs of this are, briefly stated, as follows:—

(1) Many differences of reading throughout. (2) Especial divergence in Bks. IX and X. (3) A few striking readings in Z which are not found in any other MSS, or, at any rate, not in any of those usually cited: e.g. ii 27 *nec tam* (*sed iam* O).

* Z, according to Hosius.

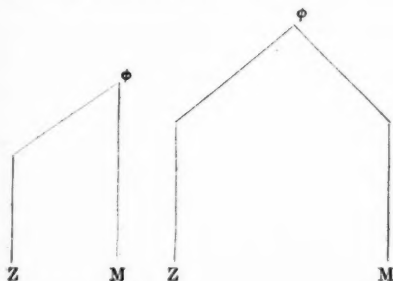
† Or Z, according to my collation.

‡ According to Hosius' first ed.

§ Not mentioned in Hosius' *apparatus*.

|| Francken's C should therefore be 5.

Thus we may with confidence construct the following alternative stemmata.¹



The striking similarity between M and Z forbids us to separate them farther than is done in the second stemma.

An interesting but extremely difficult question, which is not discussed by Hosius, is whether Z or M is the better representative of ϕ 's readings. The problem can hardly be discussed here. My own investigations have led me to give the place of honour to Z.

We have, then, in Z a MS which is closely allied to M, which often supplies the original reading of M where that reading is illegible, and which perhaps represents better than M the text of the common original of the two codices. This was a discovery worth making, but there is a greater to follow. Z is the source of Ashburnhamensis (A), Bernensis (B), and Erlangensis (E).² The credit of this discovery is due to Lejay and Beck. Hosius sets forth the evidence in his preface (pp. xxxvi, xxxvii). Lejay had noticed that iii 211 was originally omitted in Z, but subsequently added in a ninth-century hand at the top of the page, i.e. before v. 194. In B line 211 is found in the text immediately after 193. From this fact, as well as a like occurrence in the same book (v. 244), Lejay came to the natural conclusion that B is copied from Z.³ He did not notice that A, which he declared to be *plus vieux d'un bon demi-siècle que*

tous les autres, exhibits similar signs of being derived from Z. It was reserved for Beck to supplement Lejay, and to show that a great mistake had been made in assigning A to so early a date, and that not only B, but A and E must be referred to the same original Z.⁴ They are not direct copies: each has been 'contaminated' from other sources; but that they are copies there can be no doubt. To the evidence already mentioned Hosius adds some other proofs.⁵

It must be carefully noted that A, B, and E were derived from Z in its corrected form (*quod cum fugisset Beckium, magnas sibi peperit turbas*, Hos. p. xxxvii.).

Some years ago Mr. Heitland remarked that M is probably our best MS, but that the original of B must have been a codex of no mean value. It is now clear that the original, though not the direct original, of B has been found.

Thus A, B, and E must disappear almost wholly from the *apparatus criticus*. As Hosius says,

Iam sequitur ABE, ubi cum Z aut z concrepant, abiciendos esse; nam ubi ex fonte haurire possumus, non rivulis longe derivatis utemur; paucis locis ubi discrepant, si cum ceteris codicibus concinunt, sua auctoritate carentes nihil proficiunt, si singularia praebent, suspicionem aut corruptelae aut interpolationis plerumque movent (p. xlii).

Besides Z there is another Paris MS which is of considerable importance for the textual criticism of Lucan, viz. P, no. 7502 in the Bibliothèque Nationale. This MS seems to be of the tenth century. It contains the prose arguments and, at the end of every book except the ninth, the *subscriptio Paulina*. An excellent facsimile of a page of P in Chatelain's collection is enough to show that the MS was written by a very ignorant scribe. Like Z it alters its complexion very much in the last two books. There it has a marked resemblance to M; in the others it presents a wonderful mixture,

⁴ Students of Latin palaeography know only too well 'the difficulty of accurately assigning MSS of the period of the ninth and tenth century to their true positions' (Sir E. Maunde Thompson's *Manual*, p. 262). In the present case the evidence afforded by the handwriting is actually misleading, and it is to be regretted that Beck made an attempt to support his conclusion—the only possible one—on palaeographical grounds.

⁵ One small piece of evidence, which Hosius does not mention, is rather interesting. In iv 352, for *aperimus* B reads *asprimus*. This reading is easily accounted for by Z, which reads *asprimus* (= *as-perimus*).

¹ Hosius gives



in his stemma (p. xlix), but he does not mean to affirm positively that Z and M are derived immediately from the same codex (see p. xxxv of his ed.).

² Also of a ninth-century Montpellier codex (F, according to Beck's notation).

³ In spite of this Lejay, by a curious oversight, assigns Z and B to different families!

but very often agrees with Vossianus I (V).¹ The V-tradition is found to a considerable extent in M, but still more in P. As to the origin of P it is impossible to speak with any confidence. Hosius' theory—which does not seem to be adequately represented by his *stemma*—does not carry conviction; indeed it is tolerably clear that Hosius himself does not put very much trust in it, so it need not be fully explained here. There are, alas! in the MSS of Lucan too many problems whose investigation merely leads on from one difficulty to another and ends in no more tangible result than a violent headache. One forms a theory which seems to account fairly well for the facts; then another fact is observed which, if it does not upset the whole theory, necessitates the addition of a corollary to it, and so there is gradually built on a foundation of sand a tottering structure which the lightest breath of a critic may perchance upset. But whatever may be its origin, P is certainly a MS to be reckoned with.

Hosius mentions other MSS, but the only ones which he adds in his new *stemma* are P, Z, and Q (a fragmentary Paris MS akin to M); the outcome of Beck's too courageous effort has deterred him from attempting to frame an elaborate scheme amid so much uncertainty. He divides the codices into two groups, (1) the 'Pauline' group, going back to the *recensio Paulina*, though with more or less 'contagion' from the V-class, (2) the recension represented by V. (1) includes M, Z, P, U, A, B, E, Q, C, and many others, while V is the truest representative of the second group. Paulus, he thinks, in spite of his somewhat boastful language—*emendavi manu mea solus*—concerns himself more with punctuation and annotation than with emendation. On the other hand V represents an edition by a man of taste and knowledge, who for that very reason was 'elegantiae sermonis et perspicuitatis magis studiosus quam veritatis et sinceritatis.' Whether it is right to talk of a 'Pauline group' is open to grave doubt; the question cannot, however, be discussed here. Most scholars who have investigated the merits of the case will probably agree with Hosius that the text represented by M and Z is nearer to what Lucan wrote than is the V-tradition.

Thus Hosius' view of the comparative value of the MSS has not changed very materially. M, to which Z must now be

added, is, he still thinks, the best authority. P and U approach these codices in value. V is distinctly less important, 'non tamen abiciendus.' The other codices, he says, either confirm the readings of those just mentioned or exhibit evident traces of corruption. He is confident that we now know, from the original text or the correctors of the codices already examined, all the readings current in the Carolingian age, and he does not see any necessity for the examination of other codices.² With the last remark I find it hard to agree. Surely another discovery like that of Z would not be useless.

But in his second edition Hosius has not merely used MSS not employed in his first; he has tried to obtain accurate information about the readings of MSS which have long been known to fame. The student of Lucan's text cannot but be struck with the variations in the reports of readings as given by different collators. In iv 563, according to Hosius,¹ V and U read *incurrant*; according to Francken they read *incurrunt*. In v. 662 of the same book these editors are again at variance, thus:—

Hosius²: regat UG gerat MVB(C)

Francken: regat EMU gerat ABVG.

Examples might be multiplied¹; indeed Mr. Heitland in editing the *Corpus* text was compelled to invent symbols (Ms and Mf) for Steinhart's and Francken's records of the readings of the great Montpellier codex. By personal inspection and the assistance of others (notably of M. Bonnet) Hosius has very considerably improved our knowledge of the readings of M, V, U, and other MSS. We must be particularly grateful for the trouble taken to ascertain the text of M, both because of the intrinsic importance of the codex, and because it seems to have deteriorated even within the last forty years,⁴ and the sooner a minute collation was made, the better.

Having said enough to indicate that Hosius' *apparatus criticus* is in advance of all others, I venture to make a few criticisms. On this side of the North Sea we cannot help being grateful for the appreciation of

² Praef. p. liv; also *Berl. Phil. Woch.* 23rd Feb. 1901.

³ Since writing the above I have noticed that Mr. Heitland gives in vol. ix of this *Review*, p. 37, a few examples of such differences.

⁴ 'Qui [i.e. Steinhartus] quod saepius quam mihi contigit deletam lectionem invenit, explicandum esse puto e meliore condicione libri, quo tempore Steinhartus multis ante me annis eum contulit.' Francken's ed., vol. i, *Praef.* p. xii.

¹ Often also with Voss. II (U); e.g. P and U agree in reversing the order of viii 25 and 26.

Bentley's work which almost every page of the edition shows; but in spite of our national pride we must admit that in his treatment of Lucan's text Bentley allowed his magnificent scholarship to run riot, and only a small proportion of his conjectures deserved mention in an *apparatus* so condensed as that of an edition in the Teubner *Bibliotheca* necessarily is. Indeed, despite the statement on p. lvi of the preface, Hosius displays misleading capriciousness and inconsistency in the recording and omitting of variants. In ii 125, and 157, as my collation informs me, Z reads *robura*. Hosius gives the variant in the second instance, but not in the first. In the same book impossible readings, which may or may not show the character of the MS, are cited in v. 58 (*decedat* for *decidat*) and v. 224 (*igitur* for *ibitur*), but *sequemur* for *sequimur* (320), *set* for *et* (642), and others of a similar kind are not mentioned. In 299 *inuet*, for *iubet*, is recorded, but nothing is said of the opposite error, *ubet* for *inuat*, in 282. The following are a few other points open to objection in the *app. crit.* to Book II:—

27 *nec tam* Z₁ not mentioned; 31 'om Z₁', but 'lumine Z₁'! 90 *Iugurtae* Z not mentioned, though in 92 *Kartago* is recorded; 93 'dies Z' should be 'diis Z'? ib. *lybica sibi* for Z read Z₁; 164 Z₁ has *libiae*; 276 for Z read Z₁; 352 *unaque* Z not mentioned; 392 for Z read Z₁; 444 for Z₁ read z; 672 by an oversight the readings *xersen* and *sersen* are both attributed to Z, which, if my collation is correct, reads *xersen* (s in rasura).

The points just mentioned are perhaps of no great importance, but they certainly impair the value of the *apparatus*. In v 62 the real fact about the reading of the Vienna palimpsest seems, oddly enough, to have escaped all the editors. According to both Hosius and Francken N reads DONATA or DONATE *ex corr.*, where formerly was a word 'dessen Züge Aehnlichkeit hatten mit PYIRACC' (Detlefsen *ap.* Francken; so Hosius, 'DONATA *ex* PYIRACC (?)' N). But the half-deciphered letters represent PVERACC, i.e. the scribe of N had begun to write *puer accipit* (or *accipis*), which occurs in the previous line, then, noticing his mistake, he corrected it as shown in the *apparatus*.

On iii 128 a reference should have been given to *Praef.* p. xlviii.

The new text does not differ very widely from that of the first edition. There are, however, several changes. Sometimes the editor returns to a MS reading where a conjecture had formerly been adopted. In i 74

mixtim (Usener) gives place to *mixtis*; 101 for *male* (Kortte) *mare* is now read; 295 Hosius' conj. *pedibus* is no longer read in the text, though it is mentioned in the *app. crit.* All these changes are for the better; the same may reasonably be said of ii 26, *minaces*, with the MSS (*micantes*, ed. I). *Micantes* is retained, perhaps rightly, in i 320, where it now has the support of P and Z. In v. 107 (*totas* for *notas*), vi 25 (*colli* for Vossius' *collo*), and ix 288 (*increpat* for *increpet*) we have further instances of a recantation which was amply justified. *Mentimur dominos* in v 386 now appears to be a conjecture by Burmann (it was formerly thought to have the authority of V), and Hosius takes the safest course in reverting to the reading of the MSS, *m. dominis*.

There are very many cases where the MSS vary between two words, each of which gives a suitable meaning. The diversity of reading may be due in nearly all cases to a gloss, but in some it may be derived from Lucan himself, who left his work in an unfinished state. In deciding between two such alternatives it is dangerous to follow one group of MSS exclusively, for glosses may be as numerous in the best class as in the worst. *Praestat lectio difficilior* is often the safest rule. Hosius wisely refuses to allow his preference for the 'Paulines' to determine his choice in every case.

A few typical examples may be given.

- i 381 { *signa* Z
 castra O } Hosius prefers *castra*, but *signa*, as the more difficult reading, ought perhaps to be adopted (as it is by Lejay) in spite of the preponderance of MS authority for *castra*. In v 349, where the same variation occurs, *signa* is rightly preferred. The reading in ix 379 (*signa* Hos.) is not quite so certain.
- ii 293 { *signa*
 bella } *signa* Hos.¹ *bella* Hos.², rightly, in all probability.
- i 588 *errantis* VPUGC Hos. *uolitantis* MZ. A very difficult case, but it seems, on the whole, more probable that *uol.* is a gloss on *err.* than *vice versa*.
- iv 147 } *mortis* > < *Martis*. *Mortis* has
viii 364 } the MSS on its side in each case and gives a forcible meaning. Hosius is doubtless right in preferring it.
- viii 575 *sociosque* G, Hos. *classemque* O. *Sociosque* is *prima facie* more probable, but the authority of G against all other reputable MSS is so slight that Hosius

is decidedly bold in accepting its reading.

Hosius is not so prone as some are to suspect the genuineness of lines. He is probably right in bracketing ix 83. In the same book v. 86 was bracketed by him in his first edition (as later by Francken); in ed. II he removes the brackets to the following line. It is true that v. 87 is absent from most of the MSS, but the similar endings (*cura, hora*) of 86 and 87 are sufficient to account for the omission,¹ and 87 (*pace* Francken) seems otherwise unexceptionable.

v 53 *Massiliaeque suae donatur libera Phocis*, ought perhaps to be bracketed. It is omitted not only by P but by the very ancient Vienna palimpsest. It comes at the end of a list of allied states on which rewards and distinctions were conferred by the senate, meeting in Epirus. The meaning is, 'and the freedom of Phocis is granted as a favour to her (colony) Massilia.' [The confusion of Phocis and Phocaea occurs also in iii 340.] The line may well have been inserted by some native of Massilia who wished to have some mention of his birth-place in the list of honoured states. We may compare the well-known 'Athenian interpolation' in the *Iliad*.

Considerations of time and space allow only a few more notes on a text which may justly be said to be not only founded on a rational view of the manuscript evidence, but constructed with skill and sound sense.

ii 425 *sq. radensque Salerni | Cultra Siler.*

Cultra B Hosius *Tecta* O *Tesqua* Heinsius.

¹ Omission of lines through this cause is not uncommon in the MSS of Lucan. Cf. ii 466, vi 562.

Hosius boldly flies in the teeth of all the MSS that count. I venture to support his seeming rashness by suggesting that the origin of the impossible *Tecta* is a gloss on a false reading *occulta* for *culta*.

v 191 (of the prophetess) *anhelo clara meatu | Murmura.*

Clara murmura seems a very unnatural combination. As it is read in N, the corruption, if there is one, must belong to the age of capitals. Many conjectures (*crebra, clausa, caeca*, etc.) have been made. Perhaps ANHELOLARGA would be more easily corrupted to ANHELOCLARA than any of the other emendations proposed. *Largus* occurs several times in Lucan, and is appropriate enough to the volumes of sound issuing from the cavern.

vii 462 One of the most desperate *crucis* in Lucan, as a reference to Hosius' or any other reputable *app. crit.* will show. Without going into details or attempting a solution of the problem it may be suggested that the variants *nultus* and *tempus* could be explained by supposing a gloss (*h*)*ora*. Or did the original text contain the word *ora* (e.g. . . . *spectant atque ora agnoscere quaerunt*)?

ix 805 *om. MP.* Perhaps the line should be bracketed. It reminds us of x 419 as given by MU, which, as Lejay says, 'paraît être la versification d'un titre.'

In reviewing a work of such excellence it may seem trivial to take exception to small points of orthography, but it is owing to that very excellence that such spellings as *littus* offend one's sense of the fitness of things.

W. B. ANDERSON.

Manchester University.

BILLSON'S AENEID.

The Aeneid of Virgil with a Translation.

By CHARLES J. BILLSON, M.A., Corpus Christi College, Oxford. 10½" x 7½". Pp. v + 309, iii + 335. London: Edward Arnold. 1906. 30s. net.

It is the age of the translation. In verse and in prose alike we have supply and demand. So Mr. Justice Ridley's *Pharsalia*, noticed in this *Review* 1897, pp. 270 sqq., has found its way into a second edition; and a bare decade of years sees the completion of three English Aeneids in verse and the inception

of another. The first and the fourth of these it will be most natural here to compare.

The first half of Mr. Rhoades' version was favourably judged by Mr. T. E. Page in the *Classical Review* of 1893, pp. 415 sqq.: it was completed in 1896: Mr. Billson's appeared in 1905. Both translators spare us the disquisition upon the canons of translation so apt only to set in a clearer light the incongruous aim or the inadequate performance. Three pages sufficed Mr. Rhoades for his prefatory apology. Mr. Billson is more parsimonious still. No word

of preface introduces his stately tomes, nor, save the dedication 'To my daughter Camilla,' two lists of errata, and two spare paper labels providently furnished to repair the ravages of dust or use, is there anything between the covers of the volumes but Virgil and his translator. Fidelity to the original seems to have been the steadfast aim of both the versions. Mr. Rhoades professes it: 'the prime virtue of a translator, namely absolute fidelity to the original—eschewing paraphrase where possible and resisting all temptation to be brilliant on his own account.'

Divers conceptions of this duty of a translator, varying estimates of the higher and the lower fidelity divide our renderers of foreign poetry into three opposing camps. Their differences are accentuated by the fact that they would combine two distinct and not easily united principles. A version may be regarded as a reproduction of an otherwise inaccessible original or as an aid to its better understanding and interpretation. From the first point of view it will be unfaithful in essentials if it strip the metre with all that metre involves and implies from a metrical original. Surrender this, and all that can be claimed for a translation is that it is an aid to understanding, a brief commentary, in fact, a 'crib.' The pretence that such versions can in any way take the place of their originals might be dismissed as an absurdity, but for an

error into which it has unconsciously inveigled more than one living scholar of note. Possessed with the idea that poetry is 'poetry' and prose is 'prose,' and that poetical or rhythmical prose has no place in literature, such translators refuse to avail themselves of the resources of poetical diction and semi-poetical rhythm and vend their versions of poetry as prose, not for literature which they may be, but for translations which they are not. As though an artist when asked to pourtray an eagle should reply 'I have no skill to limn the flying fowl; but here is the nearest match in quadrupeds.'

From translation proper fidelity demands metre but it does not demand rhyme; and this, Mr. Billson, like most recent translators of Virgil, prudently eschews. A minor fidelity is the lineal uniformity advocated by Lord Bowen in the preface to his 'Virgil in English Verse,' but deprecated by Mr. Rhoades. This Mr. Billson has made a feature of his rendering, wherein with notable courage and candour he prints Virgil's text and his translation side by side, line for line, and even half-line for half-line. The effect of this discrepancy of treatment and the general character of the two versions may be best illustrated by quotation. Here is the beginning of the second *Aeneid*.

*Conticuere omnes intentique ora tenebant.
inde toro pater Aeneas sic orsus ab alto.*

*Infandum, regina, iubes renouare dolorem
Troianas ut opes et lamentabile regnum
eruerint Danaï quaeque ipse miserrima uidi
et quorum pars magna fui. quis talia fando
Myrmidonum Dolopumue aut duri miles Vlixi
temperet a lacrimis? et iam nox umida caelo
praecepit aduentque cadentia sidera somnos.
sed si tantus amor casus cognoscere nostros
et breuiter Troiae supremum audire laborem,
quamquam animus meminisse horret luctuque
refugit,
incipiam.—VIRGIL.*

Hushed was each voice and every face intent
When from his lofty couch the Prince began:
'Unutterable, O Queen, the pain thy words
Bid me revive; how Troy's unhappy realm
Fell to the Greek; what piteous scenes I saw
And was great part of. Who, in such a tale,
From hard Ulysses' ranks, what Myrmidon
Would keep from tears? And dewy Night e'en

now
Is riding down the sky, the sinking stars
Persuade to sleep. Yet, if so strong thy wish
To learn in brief our woes and Troy's last hour,
Although my memory shudders and recoils,
I will assay.'—BILLSON.

All lips were hushed, all eyes attentive fixed:
Then Sire Aeneas from his lofty couch
Addressed him thus to speak:

'Unutterable,
O queen, the grief thou bidst me to revive,
How Troy's magnificence and royal power,
Woe worth the day! the Danaï overthrew,
Thrice piteous scenes which I myself beheld
And was a mighty part of. Such a tale
Who or of Myrmidons or Dolopes
Or stern Ulysses' soldiery could tell,
And hold from weeping? Now too dewy night
Adown the sky falls headlong, and the stars
Sinking invite to sleep. But if to learn
Our woes such longing take thee, and to hear
Brief-told Troy's dying anguish, though my mind
At the remembrance shudders, from the grief
Recoils, I will attempt it.'—RHOADES.

Mr. Billson's theory of line for line translating has at first sight much to recommend it. It preserves proportion and it checks diffuseness, perhaps the most dangerous weakness to which the translator is exposed. But before applying it we must be sure that the metrical units have what we may call the same cubical capacity. English expression is amongst the most concise that the world has seen and those who doubt its superiority in this respect to Latin may amuse themselves by endeavouring to render Scott's

For talents mourn untimely lost
When best employed and wanted most

into an elegiac couplet or, failing that, into the equivalent number of syllables. So long then as transmutation is possible, the English ten-syllabled heroic can give a wary translator of the Latin hexameter as much or nearly as much room as he desires. But if the form of the Latin (as with proper names) has to be taken over, the case stands otherwise. Here compression is impossible and if the lineal correspondence is preserved, something has to go.

Thus in the passage quoted Mr. Billson's translation of *quaeque ipse miserrima uidi* | *et quorum pars magna fui* is superior to Mr. Rhoades': for the *ipse* which Latin usage requires is no necessity in English. But in English *Danaï* and *Dolopes* will take nearer a third than a sixth of a line and so in Mr. Billson's translation the first becomes 'the Greek' and the second disappears. Probably also Mr. Billson would have preferred 'sire Aeneas' to 'the Prince' as an equivalent of *pater Aeneas*, if he could have found the room. How much is lost in such cases varies with the context; but that there is net loss cannot be gainsaid.

I pass to another class of cases. Everyone will feel that Mr. Billson's rendering of lines 4-5 is inadequate. The metrical effect of the close of v. 4 with its infinite suggestion of overpowering calamity is as much beyond reproduction as the great wizard's soporific cadences five lines below. But the spirit of *lamentabile regnum* can be caught and Mr. Rhoades has caught it. 'Unhappy realm' shows no trace of it.

The lines that follow lend themselves more easily to Mr. Billson's method. His version runs.

War-shattered, foiled by Fate,
As the long years roll on, the Danaan chiefs,
By Pallas' sacred art, build mountain-high,
Ribb'd with sawn fir, a Horse; a votive gift
For safe return, they feign; so rumour spreads.
Men chosen by lot in its blind flanks are hid

In secret, and with armed soldiery
The monstrous cavern of its belly filled.

I will now take a passage of a different kind from the famous description in the 6th Aeneid 268 sqq. *ibant obscuri sola sub nocte per umbram*.

Darkling they fared, in desolate dim night,
Through ghostly homes and shadowy realms of Dis;

Like men in forests, when the inconstant moon
Throws peevish rays, and God has darkened heaven,

And sombre Night despoiled the hues of Earth.

Before the Porchway, in Hell's very throat,
Lay Grief, and pale Diseases, and Remorse,
And sad old Age, and Want, that counsels ill,
Fear and gaunt Famine—dreadful shapes to see!—
And Death, and Pain, and Death's twin-brother Sleep,

And sinful Lusts of Soul. And full in face
Right in the gateway lay the slaughterer, War,
The Furies' iron cells, and Discord wild
With blood-stained fillets round her snaky hair.

And in their midst an immemorial elm
Spreads shadowing arms, where idle Dreams are lodged,

That cling beneath each leaf. And many forms
Of monstrous Beasts are there: within the gate
There stable Centaurs, Scyllas double-shaped,
Briareus, the hundred-fold, and Lerna's Worm,
Dire-hissing, and Chimaera, armed with flame,
Gorgons, and Harpies, and the tri-form Ghost.

As a translator's work is most fairly judged by specimens, I will give two more of Mr. Billson's. *Aen.* v. 632-640 Iris in guise of Beroe urges the Trojan matrons to burn the ships:

O Fatherland! O Housegods saved in vain!
Shall not a Troy be told of? Shall I see
Simois no more and Xanthus, Hector's streams?
Nay, up! and burn with me the accursed ships!
For while I slept, Cassandra's boding shape
Gave me these brands. 'Here seek your Troy,'
said she,
'Here is your Home.' The hour is come: delay
Such portents brook not. Lo, yon altars four
To Neptune! God himself lends heart and fire.

Aen. x. 259-276 the return of Aeneas with his fleet:

No more he spoke: and when the darkness fled,
And light returning orb'd to perfect day,
He taught obedience, bidding all prepare
For battle, and dispose their hearts for war.
Then, standing on the stern, now full in ken
The leaguer'd Trojans scanned. His flaming Shield
He lifted high. The Dardans, with new hope
Fanning their wrath, fling missiles, and to heaven
Upraise their cries; as when Strymonian cranes
Fly, shrilling signals, from the roaring South,
And trail harsh music through the storm-black sky.

But on Ausonia's captains and the Prince
Fell wonder; till they turned and saw the ships
Steered shoreward, and the whole sea sailing in.
The helmet blazed, and from its crest a flame
Stream'd, and the golden targe was spouting fire;

As blood-red comets on the lucent night
Cast baleful gleams, or as the Syrian¹ Star
Springs, when his angry glare brings thirst and
pain
For woeful men, and saddens all the sky.

These extracts will probably convey to the reader a truer and more real notion of Mr. Billson's work than any words of mine. But I will add the sum of my own impressions. It is a version of more than average merit, highest in the most elevated passages but not sufficiently sustained throughout. Its author is seen to have a competency of knowledge, insight and poetical feeling. The

metrical handling has strength but hardly enough variety. The verbal execution is somewhat unequal: a searching revision of details would much enhance its effectiveness. For example in *Aen.* ii. the somewhat prosaic translations of *tantus amor* l. 10 and of l. 11 might easily be improved.

It should be added that the print and get up of the book are fine and even sumptuous. The price however I fear will limit the number of purchasers. If a new edition is demanded, Mr. Billson will be well advised to print in a cheaper form and to leave out the Latin original.

¹ A lapsus calami for *Sirian*.

J. P. POSTGATE.

JAMES' CATALOGUES OF MSS. IN CHRIST'S AND QUEENS' COLLEGES.

- (1) *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Western Manuscripts in the Library of Christ's College Cambridge.* By MONTAGUE RHODES JAMES, Litt.D., F.B.A., Provost of King's College, Cambridge: Director of the Fitzwilliam Museum. Cambridge: University Press. 1905. 8vo. Pp. vi. + 36. 5s.
- (2) *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Western Manuscripts in the Library of Queens' College, Cambridge.* By MONTAGUE RHODES JAMES, Litt.D., F.B.A., Provost of King's College Cambridge: Director of the Fitzwilliam Museum. Cambridge: University Press. 1905. 8vo. Pp. vi. + 29. 3s. 6d. net.

Or the two libraries which the Provost of King's here adds to his admirable collection neither contains any manuscript of direct importance for the study of classical texts. Queens' has a sixteenth century copy of Ptolemy's *Almagest* and a fifteenth-sixteenth century text of certain Greek rhetorical *τέχναι*, copied from a MS. extant at Paris; Christ's an eleventh century Greek evangelistarium and a twelfth century Acts and Epistles, which have both been collated by Scrivener. Nevertheless the reader of this *Review* will have been insufficiently humanised by the classics if he finds nothing in either library to interest him. Christ's is however decidedly the more important and the very large proportion of space which Dr. James devotes to two out of its twelve MSS. is fairly justified. One of these is liturgical, a book of Hours written probably for one of the children of Robert de Vere, Earl of Oxford, and Alice de Sanford his wife (d. 1371) and interesting

for the historical matter in the calendar as well as for the prayers themselves and the ornament. The other has more claim to notice here in connexion with the subject, still curiously obscure to us, of the history of scholarship in the middle ages. It is only a commentary on the psalter, but it differs *toto caelo et animo* from the generality of its kind in that the author busies himself mainly with the *sensus literalis* of the text, and strives to elucidate it mainly by the aid of two Hebrew MSS. equipped (according to the form of such works of that time as still survive) with an interlinear Latin gloss or 'superscriptio.' There can be no reasonable doubt that Dr. James is right in identifying their author, the Franciscan Henry of Costessey (or Cossey, near Norwich) with the teacher who died in 1336, and not with the Master of Gonville Hall of the same name who died in 1483, although the MS. is of the middle of the fifteenth century or later. Hence we must regard him as a product of that fitful interest in scholarship which was possibly inspired by Roger Bacon, and at any rate showed itself in the well-known decree of the council of Vienne in 1312 for establishing Greek, Hebrew, and other teaching at the four principal universities. He specifies the two Hebrew books which he uses by their owners, viz. *domini Lincoln*. (perhaps a contemporary bishop or earl, not Robert Grosteste) and *magistri Johannis dudum conversi*. Readers of M. Berger's tract on Hebrew in the Middle Ages will readily identify the latter as *Johannes Salvati de Nova Villa Regis, clericus Belvacensis*

dioecesis, a Jewish convert who was actually installed at Paris in accordance with the Vienne decree in 1319, and the light thrown upon the achievements of his school is of the highest value.

It is of course possible to pick up a few errors here and there. Dr. James' catalogues are as full of facts as a table of logarithms and perhaps nothing short of a Babbage machine would succeed in eliminating all mistakes of detail. On p. 10 of the Christ's catalogue *Dies Aegyptiaca* has been mistaken for *Duplex*; on p. 11 'Edwardi fratris regis' is a slip for 'Edmundi'; on the following pages the double notation (by pages and folios) of the MS. seems to be confused; on p. 26 last line for 'fol. 18' read

'Feb. 18.' In this MS. Dr. James has not noticed a curious account by the illuminator (f. 72 b) specifying the number of initial letters he had put in. On p. 34 is a more serious misprint 'Jesse' for 'esse,' and on p. 35 the description of *psalterium Romanum* as Jerome's correction of the Gallican is obscure. At p. 30 (note) Miss Bateson is robbed of the last two letters of her name. If some person with a small fraction of Dr. James' learning and the qualities of a first-rate printer's reader could revise the description with the MSS. he might find many such details to correct, but perhaps this is too much to ask.

J. P. GILSON.

REPORT.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE OXFORD PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY.—HILARY TERM, 1906.

ON May 4th, at Wadham College, Mr. WELLS read a paper on 'a Persian friend of Herodotus.' The object of the paper was to shew that many of the peculiarities of Herodotus's versions of Persian history could best be explained by supposing that one of his main informants was Zopyrus the son of Megabazus, whose desertion to Athens is mentioned in iii. 160. The date of this desertion was discussed, and 441-440 was suggested as suiting at once the statements of Ctesias and the general course of events; it was also shewn that the desertion was an event of great political importance, not improbably connected with the anti-Persian intrigues at Samos in 440. Incidentally it was argued that Herodotus probably left for Thurii in 440. At the end of the paper the accuracy of Herodotus's story of the Siege of Babylon by Darius (Hdt. iii. 150 *seq.*) was briefly discussed. The paper will shortly be published in full.

ON May 11th, at Queen's College, Mr. T. W. ALLEN read a paper on the characteristics of Theognis.

ON June 8th, at Balliol College, Mr. LOUIS DYER read a paper on the *Olympic Council and Council House*. First came a defence of Dr. Dörpfeld's identification of the latter in connexion with Paus. V. xxi. 2-xxiv. 11, Xen. *Hell.* vii. 4, the meaning attached to *θίατρον* before stone theatres were erected, and the growth of trees on the Altis since 1886, which confirms the conclusion that the triangular area around the great Ash Altar was the only open space available for the fighting of Ol. 104. Next the date of the Elean Synoikismos was fixed in the two concluding years of Ol. 75, that of the Triphylian devastation was determined to be Ol. 75-77, both dates being brought into relation with those of the two wings of the Council House. The Curse of Moline shewed that the Lepreatae were originally of more consequence than the Aetolo-Eleans at Olympia. Skillus was in the same case, Skilluntines having built the Heraeum. Heraea also certainly belonged

to the league of eight Pisatan cities so confusedly described by Strabo. These three with the five which Strabo names: Heracleia, Harpina, Kikysion, Dyspontium, and Salmone make up the tale, and Pisa must be added as a ninth. The *ἀρχαία γυμνασία* of the Eleans, not accepted by the Greeks at large (Paus. V. iv. 6 *ad fin.*), falsified history and expunged Pisa, while claiming unhistorical prominence at Olympia for Elis (Xen. *Hell.* iii. ii. 31). This Pisatan Amphictyony of Olympia is an historical residuum of fact left behind by the long political experience of the pre-Dorians dimly apparent in the four leagues (of nine tribe-centres each) witnessed to by *Il.* ii. and *Od.* iii. Its poetical prototype is the Pylian league of nine centred at Pylos the Netherworld Gate and dedicated to Hades, Poseidon, and the ancient Olympian Earth-Oracle. Last came an examination of the Olympic Council taken first in connexion with the Eleusinian Hiera Gerousia, the Delphian Amphictyonic Council, the Delian Amphictyony,—the Eleusinian and Delphian analogy being the closest. Scrutiny of inscriptions followed, from which it appeared that the Hellanodicae were the executive arm and the presiding officers of the Olympic Council, never confused with the Elean Synedroi. A very minute examination of Paus. V. ix. 4—end then shewed that his statement that Iphitus instituted the Olympia *αὐτὸς μόνος* was an Elean fiction due to the *ἀρχαία γυμνασία*. The contradictory traditions of the Pisatan Iamidae were nearer historical fact. Iphitus and Cleosthenes the Pisatan conjointly organized an old country-side festival, both being of kingly status and wearing the royal purple. There was no change at the 50th Olympiad. Two Hellanodicae ruled until Ol. 75, a date fixed upon quite unmistakably by Pausanias as the great turning point in the history of the games. Emendations of the text are gratuitous if only it be recognized (1) that an epoch-making change alike in the constitution of Elis and the organization of the Olympia dates from the morrow of Plataea, when the Elean contingent

turned upon their dilatory and incompetent leaders (Hdt. ix. 77 *ad fin.*), (2) that this led to the belated Synoikismos of Elis, (3) that the efficiency of the new board of Hellanodicae entirely sprang from the new arrangements made for them in the newly concentrated City-State of Elis, (4) that traces of the more efficient reorganization of the Olympia shew not only in the feeble management of Ol. 75 but also in the record of the great patriotic festival of Ol. 76, (5) that the one decisive conflict, by which the sole presidency at Olympia was won for Elis, took place before Ol. 77, resulting in the building of Libon's great temple, and an extensive alteration in the facilities open to the festival concourse, as well as in new and independent business quarters for the Hellanodicae. The Elean fiasco on the field of Plataea marks a tremendous change; but this change has been minimized and skilfully represented as of older date by Elean tradition, and has therefore been imperfectly understood.

The Olympic Council, possibly taking its origin from a knot of *γέροντες* advising the pre-Dorian king and connected with a Homeric popular concourse, who would be the mass of tribesmen gathered at the country-side games,—funeral or other,—was always more definitely representative than that oligarchy within an oligarchy, the Elean Synedroi. This fact is plain from the attested increase and decrease in the number of the Hellanodicae after Ol. 75. When Elis took in new districts, new Hellanodicae, one for each district, came in. Again, when Elis was reduced in Ol. 104 to eight districts, the Hellanodicae were reduced to eight. They came from all corners of the Olympian 'Home Counties' and would have been a hindrance to efficiency but for the ten months of instruction in the duties of their office given at Elis by the *νομοφύλακες*, who doubtless

were Elean grandees. For this period of probation quarters at Elis were provided, built as Dr. Wernicke seems to imply, in the closest imitation of the quarters existing in Ol. 75 at Olympia. Whether Dr. Wernicke would endorse this last statement or not is uncertain, but his account of the Elean Market-Place, and his conclusions (published in the *Jahrbücher* for 1894 vol. ix) from the uses of the business quarters at Elis as to the uses to which the north and south wings of the Olympian Council House were successively put, harmonize in a remarkable degree with the results of the present investigation. In support of his identification of the Olympian *προεδρία* (Paus. V. xv. 4) with the south wing of the Council House, Mr. Dyer urged (1) that the title of *πρόεδροι* (implied by the name *προεδρία* for their business quarters) could not officially attach to the Hellanodicae as magistrates occupying front seats at the festival concourse, but must derive from their presidential relation to the Olympic Council, which was vouched for by the fact of an appeal lying to the Council from their executive decisions or *προβολαί*. (2) That until Ol. 75, there being but the two royal Hellanodicae, the north wing would suffice for their business quarters as well as for the meetings of the Council. When however the board of nine came in, divided into three clearly defined sub-committees, all and each qualified for efficiency by ten months' training at Elis, separate business quarters were obviously indispensable. These were supplied by the building of the south wing, dated congruously to this argument a little before the building of the great Temple of Olympian Zeus.

F. W. HALL,
Hon. Secretary.

ARCHAEOLOGY.

WHO WAS THE WIFE OF ZEUS?

THE marriage of Zeus and Hera, though described by prudent worshippers as *εὐδαίμων γάμος*,¹ was not a happy one as we count happiness. So long as Zeus was courting his bride, that is to say for some three hundred years,² all went well.³ They met, it is true, 'without the knowledge of their dear

parents';⁴ but such clandestine intercourse was in various parts of the Greek world the recognised beginning of married life.⁵ In due time the engagement was, so to speak, made public, wedding-invitations were issued to all gods and men and beasts,⁶ and wedding-presents received.⁷ Alas, from that moment we hear of no more love-passages. Formal matrimony appears to have chilled all warmth of affection. There is of course the famous scene of dalliance on Mt. Ida.⁸ But this, it will be remembered, was got up

¹ Dio Chrys. *or.* 36 p. 453, cp. *Ar. av.* 1741 f. See Lobeck *Aglaophamus* p. 610, Abel *Orphica* p. 243.

² Callim. *frag.* 20 Schneider, Nonn. *Dion.* 41. 322 ff.

³ Cp. the pretty picture drawn by Stat. *Theb.* 10. 61 ff., and perhaps the bronzes figured by Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 17, 6 f. The Selinus metope in Farnell *Cults of the Gk. States* i. pl. ix a, the fresco from Pompeii in *Class. Rev.* xvii. 414 fig. 9, the Etruscan mirror in Gerhard *Etruskische Spiegel* iv. 10 f., pl. 282, and a remarkable coin of Bruzus in *Brit. Mus. Cat. Gk. Coins Phrygia* p. 113, pl. 14. 4, refer rather to the actual wedlock Overbeck *Kunstmyth.* Hera p. 174).

⁴ *Il.* 14. 296. For their secrecy see Euseb. *prep. ev.* 3. 1. 3, schol. vet. Theoc. 15. 64, schol. *Il.* 14. 296, Eustath. 987, 9, schol. *Il.* 1. 609, cp. Ptolem. *nov. hist.* 6 p. 196, 11 ff. Westermann.

⁵ In Samos schol. *Il.* 14. 296, Eustath. 987, 9 ff.: at Sparta Plut. *v. Lyc.* 15, Xen. *de rep. Lac.* 1. 5, Hermippus *ap. Athen.* 555 c.

⁶ Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* 1. 505, Myth. Vat. 1. 101, 2. 67, pp. 37 f., 109 Mai.

⁷ Eratosth. *cat.* 3, Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 3, Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* 4. 484, Apollod. 2. 5. 11.

⁸ *Il.* 14. 153 ff.

by Hera for the purpose of hoodwinking Zeus: the account of it is prefaced by the remark that 'he was hateful to her heart'¹ and followed by his ungallant threat to thrash her soundly for her deceit.² Apart from this scene of simulated desire there is nothing to report but bickering, backbiting, and mutual intrigue.³ Polytechnos and Aëdon were perhaps impious when they claimed to love each other more fondly than Zeus and Hera,⁴ but it is probable that they spoke the truth.

Again, the union between Zeus and Hera was unsatisfactory because it produced no offspring. This naturally increased the jealousy with which Hera viewed the occasional infidelities of Zeus: 'she persecuted her rivals,' says Lactantius,⁵ 'with the utmost bitterness because she herself could have no children by her brother.' Such manifest inferiority to other goddesses, heroines, and even mortals was intolerable. And Hesiod, with an eye to harmony and decorum, announces that Zeus took to himself in succession Metis, Themis, Eurynome, Demeter, Mnemosyne, Leto, and lastly Hera, 'who bare Hebe, Ares, and Eileithyia, when mixed in love with the king of gods and men.'⁶ This semi-official declaration, being decent if not dignified, was accepted by sundry later mythographers, and so passed into the canon of Graeco-Roman tradition. Nevertheless the claims of Hebe, Ares, and Eileithyia to be considered as legitimate children of Zeus by Hera are not above suspicion and must be separately investigated.

The line in the *Theogony* that describes Hebe as 'daughter of mighty Zeus and of golden-sandaled Hera'⁷ appears in the *Odyssey*⁸ also; but here it was foisted into the text by Onomacritus⁹ and has been rightly bracketed by recent editors. Apollodorus, when he states that 'Zeus married Hera and begat Hebe, Eileithyia, Ares,'¹⁰ is obviously founding upon Hesiod. The first Vatican mythographer may have derived his assertion that 'Juno bare Hebe to Jupiter'¹¹

mediately or immediately from the same source. And Hesychius¹² has no fresh evidence to cite. Since these are the only¹³ writers that expressly mention Zeus and Hera as the two parents of Hebe, it follows that her claim rests primarily on the authority of Hesiod. As against it, there is a widely-attested belief that Hebe was the daughter of Hera, and of Hera only. Olen in his hymn to Hera made her the mother of Ares and of Hebe,¹⁴ but, so far as is known, did not allude to any father. Pindar twice calls Hebe the daughter of Hera,¹⁵ but never the daughter of Zeus. And later writers both Greek¹⁶ and Latin¹⁷ follow suit. It is noteworthy also that in sculpture¹⁸ and in vase-painting¹⁹ Hebe was closely associated with Hera. To account for this singular relationship, it was said Hera became the mother of Hebe when impregnated by a lettuce.²⁰ These inadequate notions of paternity belong to a very remote past and go far towards proving that Hebe, the daughter of Hera, was not originally conceived as the daughter of Zeus. The same result is reached by a consideration of her cults. At Phlius she had a cypress-grove, which was sanctuary for slaves, a yearly festival called Ivy-cutters, and a *hieron* of immemorial fame: the oldest Phliasian authorities called her not Hebe, but Ganymeda²¹—a name suggesting the consort, rather than the daughter, of Zeus.

¹² Hesych. s.v. Ἥβη.

¹³ It must, however, be added that Eur. *Heraclid.* 917 f. speaks of Herakles and Hebe as *δισσοὶ* [*ταῖσδε* Διός, that Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* 3. 466 makes Hebe the daughter of Jupiter, and that Myth. Vat. 1. 184 p. 63 Mai has 'Hebe filia Minois, filii Iovis.'

¹⁴ Paus. 2. 13. 3.

¹⁵ Pind. *Nem.* 7. 1-5 (Eileithyia and Hebe as daughters of Hera), 10. 30 f. (Hebe in Olympus *τελεῖα παρὰ ματέρι*).

¹⁶ Apollod. 2. 7. 7, Ael. *hist. an.* 17. 46, Tzet. in Lye. 1349 f., schol. *Il.* 4. 2, cp. schol. *Il.* 1. 609.

¹⁷ Ov. *met.* 9. 400 and Val. Flacc. 8. 231 have the matronymic 'Iunonia . . . Hebe.' Other authors say 'Hebe Iunonis filia' or the like: see Myth. Vat. 2. 198 p. 153 Mai, 3. 15. 11 p. 378 Mai, Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* 1. 28, 5. 134, Lact. *Plac. in Stat. Theb.* 1. 548, *id. fab. Ov.* 9. 4.

¹⁸ Paus. 2. 17. 5 (Argos), 8. 9. 3 (Mantineia), cp. Kekulé *Hebe* pp. 43 ff.

¹⁹ *Compte rendu Atlas 1861* pl. 3 = Reinach *Rép. Vases i. 7 b*, Roscher *Lex.* i. 2130, cp. Kekulé *Hebe* pp. 18 ff.

²⁰ Myth. Vat. 1. 204 p. 72 Mai Heben genuit Inno de Iove; secundum quosdam, de lactuca. Will any reader of the *Classical Review* kindly refer me to the fuller source of the myth utilised by Montfaucon *Antiq. Expl.* i. 184, De-Vit *Onomasticon* s.v. 'Hebe' § 2, Myth. Vat. ed. Bode ii. 65, E. Jacobi *Handwörterb. d. gr. u. röm. Mythol.* p. 389 n. 1?

²¹ Paus. 2. 13. 3.

¹ *Il.* 158. ² *Il.* 15. 16 f.

³ Welcker *Gr. Götterl.* ii. 328 ff., Preller-Robert *Gr. Myth.* pp. 166 ff. The nearest approach to lover-like behaviour was their quarrel about love (Hesiod *ap.* Apollod. 3. 6. 7, Fulgent. *myth.* 2. 8, Hyg. *fab.* 75, Myth. Vat. 3. 4. 8 p. 180 Mai); cp. also Eustath. 345, 35 "Ἡρα διαλλαγεῖσα τῷ Διί.

⁴ Ant. Lib. 11.

⁵ Lact. *div. inst.* 1. 17, cp. Myth. Vat. 3. 4. 2 p. 177 Mai.

⁶ Hes. *theog.* 922 f. ⁷ *Id.* *ib.* 952.

⁸ *Od.* 11. 604, cp. Eustath. 1702, 47, 58, 1703, 19.

⁹ Schol. *Od.* 11. 604 = Onomacrit. *frag.* 8 Kinkel.

¹⁰ Apollod. 1. 3. 1.

¹¹ Myth. Vat. 1. 204 p. 72 Mai.

That the name Hebe, a mere personification of perpetual youth, was comparatively late, we can readily believe. Even the name Ganymeda may have been modelled on Ganymedes.¹ It is not, therefore, surprising to find that the same goddess bore a more primitive title. Both at Phlius and at Sicyon she was worshipped as Dia.² But *Δία*, as Usener has shown,³ is simply the feminine counterpart of *Ζεύς*. Once more, then, we arrive at the conclusion that Hebe was a late name for an early partner of Zeus, not his daughter, but his wife. This explains the tradition that Zeus gave Hebe two doves with human voice, one of which founded the oracle of Dodona, the other, that of the Ammonium.⁴ Hebe, *alias* Dia, was in fact identical with Dione.⁵ The great goddesses of Dodona were Dione and Aphrodite:⁶ Hebe appears between them even in Hesiod's *Theogony*.⁷ And, if Dione at Dodona succeeded to the cult of an Earth-mother,⁸ Hebe was by some said to have sprung from mother Earth.⁹

Let us next see whether Ares' claim to be the son of Zeus and Hera is stronger than that of Hebe. In a well-known passage of the *Iliad*¹⁰ Zeus declares that Ares is indeed his son by Hera, adding that had so hateful a god been sprung from any other he would

long since have been cast out of heaven. This passage might at first sight seem to settle the question. What better guarantee could we wish than the word of Zeus himself? But, the fact is, Zeus protests too much. The couplet

εἰ δέ τεν ἐξ ἄλλου γε θεῶν γένεν ὧδ' αἰδηλος,
καί κεν δὴ πάλοι ἦσθα ἐνέρτερος Οὐρανίωνων

reads suspiciously like a vindication of Ares' claim by one who knew that it was impugned. It is supported, though not till the second century A.D., by Ampelius¹¹ and Hyginus.¹² But again there is a variant tradition that Hera gave birth to Ares without the help of Zeus after touching a certain flower, which the nymph Chloris had received from the fields of Olenos.¹³ We sink here to the same primitive stratum of ideas as that which ascribed the birth of Hebe to a lettuce. Such notions must be long anterior to the literary tradition authorised by Homer and Hesiod.

The third child of Zeus and Hera, according to 'those who made a theogony for the Hellenes',¹⁴ was Eileithyia. Hesiod's genealogy is echoed by Apollodorus¹⁵ and Diodorus.¹⁶ But it is significant that Pindar,¹⁷ Plutarch,¹⁸ and Pausanias¹⁹ speak of Eileithyia, Homer,²⁰ Crinagoras,²¹ and Aelian,²² of the Eileithyiai, as the daughters of Hera without a mention of Zeus. The fact is, as Dr. L. R. Farnell points out,²³ 'The name—whatever its exact original sense may have been—has an adjectival form, and was primarily, we may believe, an epithet of Hera, and then detached from her and treated as the name of a separate divinity.' Hera *Εἰλειθία* was worshipped in Attica and Argolis; for near Thorikos has been found a stone inscribed *ὄρος τεμένους*

¹ See *Encycl. Brit.* ed. 9 xi. 593 s.v. 'Hebe.' This is the more likely since a genuine feminine of *Γανυμήδης* would presumably have been *Γανυμήδεια*: yet cp. *Μῆθη* for *Μῆδεια* (Roscher *Lex.* ii. 2482, 47 ff.).

² Strab. 382.

³ Usener *Götternamen* pp. 35 f., 62, 70 f., also in *Rhein. Mus.* N.F. liii. 346 and in *Strena Helbigiana* p. 322. See Escher in Pauly-Wissowa *Realencycl.* v. 299 f.

⁴ Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* 3. 466.

⁵ *Class. Rev.* xvii. 177 f. See also Welcker *Gr. Götterl.* i. 352 f.

⁶ *Class. Rev.* xvii. 177 f., 183, 186, Carapanos i. 23, 156, Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* 3. 466 *Iovi et Veneri templum*.

⁷ Hes. *theog.* 16 f. Plut. *mor.* 747 F cites the passage with "Ἥην for "Ἡβην; but Flach and Rzach retain "Ἡβην with all the MSS. Paley accepted Schömann's cj. *Φοίβην*.

In Ael. *hist. an.* 17. 46 λέγει Μνασίας ἐν τῇ Εἰρηκῇ Διὸς Ἡρακλείους ἱερὸν εἶναι καὶ τῆς τούτου γαμετῆς, ἣν ἄδουσιν οἱ ποιηταὶ τῆς Ἡρας θυγατέρα C. Müller *F.H.G.* iii. 151 brackets Διὸς and Hercher omits it from the text. But, if anything is to be bracketed, of which I am not convinced (see *infra*), it should perhaps be Ἡρακλείους. We should then have Zeus paired with Hebe, and with the sacred cocks of the god mentioned in the sequel might cp. the youthful Zeus *Φελξανός* and his cock on coins of Phaeustus (*Class. Rev.* xvii. 413 fig. 8). But?

⁸ *Class. Rev.* xvii. 179 f.

⁹ Rufin. Aquileiens. *Clem. Rom. recognit.* 10. 17 ed. Gersdorf pp. 229 f.

¹⁰ *Il.* 5. 888 ff.

¹¹ Amp. 9. 2.

¹² Hyg. *fab. praef.* p. 12, 2 Schmidt.

¹³ Ov. *fast.* 5. 229 ff. Paul. *exc. Fest.* s.v.

¹⁴ 'Gradivus' p. 72 Lindemann 'vel, ut alii dicunt, quia gramine sit ortus.' Plut. *ap. Euseb. prep. ev.* 3. 1. 5 names Hera, not Zeus, as the parent of Ares.

¹⁵ Hdt. 2. 53.

¹⁶ Apollod. 1. 3. 1.

¹⁷ Diod. 5. 72. But *ib.* 4. 9 Eileithyia appears to be the daughter of Hera only.

¹⁸ Pind. *Nem.* 7. 2, with schol. vet. p. 203, 3 f. Abel.

¹⁹ Plut. *ap. Euseb. prep. ev.* 3. 1. 5.

²⁰ Paus. 1. 18. 5.

²¹ *Il.* 11. 270 f. Schol. A *ad loc.* says Εἰλειθία δὲ Διὸς καὶ Ἡρας θυγατρὶς, cp. *etym. mag.* 298, 38 f.; but Homer knew better, and schol. B on *Il.* 20. 70 has Εἰλειθίαν μήτηρ ἢ Ἡρα.

²² Anth. Pal. 6. 244. 1 f.

²³ Ael. *de nat. an.* 7. 15.

²⁴ Farnell *Cults of the Gk. States* ii. 608.

Ἡρ[ας] Εἰλειθ[νίας],¹ and Hesychius glosses Εἰληθνίας by . . . Ἡρα ἐν Ἀργεῖ.² As an epithet, however, Εἰλειθνία is also connected with other goddesses, most commonly with Artemis,³ occasionally with Hekate,⁴ Selene,⁵ Themis,⁶ or Hebe.⁷ But for our purpose it matters little whether Eileithyia be identified with Hera or with another. In any case we are driven to conclude that her claim to be a child of Zeus by Hera was no better than the claims of Hebe and of Ares.

Sundry other attempts were made to provide a family for Zeus and Hera. But they are all late in date and half-hearted in intention. Thus Cornutus⁸ records that the Charites were 'according to most authorities the daughters of Zeus, some say by Eurydome . . . others by Eurynome . . . others by Eurymedusa . . . while others again give them Hera for a mother in order that they may be the noblest-born of the gods to suit the nobility of their actions.' Cornutus' interpolator adds: 'some declare that Euanthe was their mother, others that she was Aigle.' The scholiast on the *Odyssey*⁹ writes in the same strain: 'there are two accounts of the parentage of the Charites, who were either children of Eurynome and Zeus, or virgin daughters of Hera and Zeus.' Obviously no reliance can be placed on this flimsy variant, which may have arisen from the fact that the Charites appeared above the head of Zeus at Olympia¹⁰ and on the crown of the Argive Hera.¹¹ Certainly the oldest tradition made them the daughters of Zeus and Eurynome.¹²

Equally unsubstantial is the statement of Hyginus that Zeus and Hera were the parents of Juventas Libertas. For *Juventus Libertas* appears to be an incorrectly Latinised form of a Ἡβη Ἐλευθερία¹³; and of Hebe we have already disposed.

¹ W. Vischer *Epigr. und archäol. Beitr. aus Griechenland* 1855 p. 58 no. 69 pl. vii. 2, *id.* *Erinnerungen und Eindrücke aus Griechenland* 1857 p. 68, K. Kell in *Philologus* xxiii. 619 f.

² See further Roscher *Lex.* i. 2076, 7 ff., 2091, 31 ff.

³ Jessen in Pauly-Wissowa *Realencycl.* v. 2105, 46 ff.

⁴ Porphyrius *ap. Euseb. prep. ev.* 4. 23. 7.

⁵ Nonn. *Dion.* 38. 150. ⁶ *Id.* *ib.* 41. 162.

⁷ Orph. *hymn. praef.* 13. ⁸ Cornut. *theol.* 15.

⁹ Schol. *Od.* 8. 364, *cp. Myth. Vat.* 1. 132 p. 48 Mai, Nonn. *Dion.* 31. 186.

¹⁰ Paus. 5. 11. 7. ¹¹ *Id.* 2. 17. 4.

¹² Escher in Pauly-Wissowa *Realencycl.* iii. 2150, 45 ff.

¹³ Jupiter Libertas, who is commonly supposed to represent a Zeus Ἐλευθέριος (*De-Vit Onomasticon s.v.* 'Iuppiter' §§ 181 ff., but see Aust in Roscher *Lex.* ii. 663, 7 ff., Wissowa *Rel. u. Kult. d. Römer* p. 106), probably hangs together with this Juventas

In a Theban hymn to Herakles cited by Ptolemy Chennos,¹⁴ who flourished under Trajan and Hadrian, Herakles was described as the son of Zeus and Hera. But Ptolemy, according to Photius, was συναγωγὸς ὑπό-κενος καὶ πρὸς ἀλαζονείαν ἐπτοημένος,¹⁵ and this may have been one of his many *τεράτωδη καὶ κακόπλαστα*.¹⁶ The received tradition was too firmly established to be upset by the first puff of a wind-bag.

Lastly, Hephaistos was the son of Zeus by Hera, if we believe the scholiast on the *Iliad*,¹⁷ or Cicero, who informs us that 'the third Vulcanus was sprung from the third Jupiter and Juno,'¹⁸ or Cornutus, who says: 'The upper air with its pure transparent fire is Zeus, but fire in actual use and mixed with lower air is Hephaistos; whence he was affirmed to be the son of Zeus and Hera, though others said that he was the son of Hera alone,' etc.¹⁹ This latter view, as we shall see, was undoubtedly the original conception, and as compared with its weight of evidence the authority of scholiasts, harmonists, and allegorists must kick the beam.

It appears, therefore, that not one of the children attributed to Zeus and Hera by classical writers had any real claim to such parentage. The union of these powerful deities remained sterile.²⁰ Now this would be remarkable enough in the case of any definitely recognised pair in a polytheistic system. But it becomes doubly remarkable, when we remember that Zeus and Hera were in historic times the marriage deities *par excellence* of the Greek world.²¹ Zeus

Libertas. Is it mere accident that the only parallel to the abstract form of his appellation is Jupiter Juventas (Roscher *Lex.* ii. 667, 17 ff.)?

¹⁴ Ptol. *nov. hist.* 3 p. 186, 28 ff. Westermann.

¹⁵ Phot. *bibl. cod.* 190 p. 146b 8 f. Bekker.

¹⁶ *Id.* *ib.* p. 146b 5 f. Bekker. See, however, the Etruscan inscription *infra* p. 28.

¹⁷ Schol. *Il.* 1. 609, 14. 296 = Eustath. 987, 9 f.

¹⁸ Cic. *de nat. deor.* 22. 55.

¹⁹ Cornut. *theol.* 19. In *Od.* 8. 312 Hephaistos speaks of his *τοκτὴ δόω*: but these need not be Zeus and Hera (as schol. Hes. *theog.* 927 Flach supposed, *cp.* Rapp in Roscher *Lex.* i. 2048, 22), for *Lyd. de mens.* 86 p. 135, 10 f. Wünsch makes the third Hephaistos the son of Kronos and Hera; nor are we bound to infer from *Il.* 14. 338 f. that the Homeric Hephaistos was the son of Zeus.

²⁰ That the *lepos γάμος* resulted in no offspring, was pointed out by K. Schwenck *Die Mythol. der Griechen* 1843 p. 46, who inferred that we must regard the unpersonified Spring as the child born of this union. Schwenck was followed by E. Gerhard *Gr. Myth.* 1854 p. 204.

²¹ See e.g. Preller-Robert *Griech. Mythol.* p. 147, Gruppe *Griech. Mythol. u. Religionsgesch.* pp. 1110 n. 1, 1134 n. 5, Farnell *Cults of the Gk. States* i. 53, 195.

Τέλειος and Hera Τελεία were in fact singularly ἀτελής.

The anomalous nature of the situation is still further accentuated by the grotesque belief that Zeus produced children of himself apart from Hera, Hera produced children of herself apart from Zeus. 'There can be,' says Apollo in the *Eumenides*,¹ 'a father without a mother — witness the daughter of Olympian Zeus.' Athena, as the old myth had it, was sprung from his head²; later writers specify his brain³ or his beard.⁴ So too the author of the early Homeric hymn to Dionysos declares: 'Thee the father of men and gods bare, afar from mankind, hiding thee from white-armed Hera.'⁵ And, thanks to later poets and mythographers, we know how Dionysos, 'Son of Zeus,'⁶ was born from his father's thigh.⁷ Well might Lucian make Poseidon exclaim εὖ γε ὁ γενναῖος, ὡς ὅλος ἡμῖν κυφορεῖ καὶ πανταχόθι τοῦ σώματος!⁸ Note that the verb τίκτω is repeatedly used of Zeus in relation to Athena and Dionysos;⁹ indeed a sarcophagus at Venice shows the birth of Dionysos from Zeus, who is veiled like a bride and assisted by Eileithyia,¹⁰ while Ctesilochus, a pupil of Apelles, made his name as a painter *Iove Liberum parturiente depicto mitrato et muliebriter ingemiscente inter obstetricia dearum*.¹¹ Again, Adonis—according to Philostephanus of Cyrene—reigned as a king in Cyprus, having sprung from Zeus *sine ullius feminae accubitu*.¹²

¹ Aesch. *Eum.* 663 f., cp. 736 ff.

² Hes. *theog.* 924, Hom. *hymn. Ap.* 309, *hymn. Min.* 28. 5, Musaeus *ap. schol. Pind. Ol.* 7. 66 and *ap. Philodem. περί εὐσεβ.* 59 (= *frag.* 8 Kinkel), Stesich. *ap. schol. Ap. Rhod.* 4. 1310, *Pind. Ol.* 7. 67, *Eur. Ion* 455 f., *alib.*

³ Luc. *dial. deor.* 8, *de sacrif.* 5, Westermann *mythogr. append.* p. 359, 24 f.

⁴ Myth. *Vat.* 1. 176 p. 61 Mai Iuppiter de sua barba Minervam.

⁵ Hom. *hymn. Bacch.* 1. 6 f.

⁶ Διόνυσος = Διὸς υἱός (Kretschmer, *Einleit. in d. Gesch. d. gr. Spr.* p. 241).

⁷ *Pind. frag.* 85 Christ, *Eur. Bacch.* 94 ff., 286 f., 523 ff., Nonn. *Dion.* 9. 1 ff., *Apollod.* 3. 4. 3, *Myth. Vat.* 1. 120 p. 44 Mai, 2. 79 p. 114 Mai, Luc. *dial. deor.* 9, *de sacrif.* 5, cp. Strab. 687, *Orph. hymn.* 48. 3, 52. 3, Eustath. in *Il.* 310, 6 f., *evd. in Dion. per.* 1153, *alib.* See further Voigt in Roscher *Lex.* i. 1044 ff., Kern in Pauly-Wissowa *Realencycl.* v. 1015 f., 1034 f.

⁸ Luc. *dial. deor.* 9. 1.

⁹ See the passages referred to in nn. 2, 3, 5, 7; and cp. Aesch. *Eum.* 660 τίκτει δ' ὁ θρώσκων.

¹⁰ *Monumenti inediti dall' Inst.* i. pl. 45 a = Daremberg-Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 602 fig. 679.

¹¹ Plin. *nat. hist.* 35. 140. On the significance of this 'Männerkindbett' see Voigt in Roscher *Lex.* i. 1046.

¹² Philosteph. *ap. Prob. in Verg. ecl.* 10. 18 Lion = *F.H.G.* iii. 31 no. 14.

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It was in Cyprus too that the horned Centaurs were begotten on the ground from the seed of Zeus.¹³ *En revanche* Hera was the husbandless mother, not only of Hebe¹⁴ and Ares,¹⁵ but also of Eileithyia¹⁶ and Hephaistos.¹⁷ Of the last-named even Hesiod says: 'Ἡρῃ δ' Ἡφαίστον κλυτὸν οὐ φιλότῃ μιγείσα | γείνατο.¹⁸ And later writers, both Greek¹⁹ and Latin,²⁰ harp on the theme. Hera likewise gave birth to the fatherless monster Typhaon²¹ or Typhoeus,²² according to an epic and lyric tradition of respectable antiquity. Finally, the mythographers speak of Echo as a daughter of Hera—a meaning matronymic.²³

The only adequate explanation of these marital eccentricities is to be found in the view that Zeus and Hera were not originally connected as husband and wife, but that Zeus once belonged to a married couple of which the husband was all-important, Hera to a married couple dominated by the wife.²⁴

¹³ Nonn. *Dion.* 5. 609 ff., 14. 193 ff., 32. 71 f. Cp. the birth of Erichthonios as described by Callim. *Ἐκάλῃ ap. schol. Il.* 2. 547 (= *frag.* 61 Schneider), *Apollod.* 3. 14. 6, *Eratoth. cat.* 13 (= *Eur. frag.* 925 Nauck²), Westermann *mythogr. append.* p. 360, 1 ff., *alib.*

¹⁴ *Supra* p. 366.

¹⁵ *Supra* p. 367.

¹⁶ *Supra* p. 367.

¹⁷ *Supra* p. 368.

¹⁸ Hes. *theog.* 927 f.

¹⁹ Hom. *hymn. Ap.* 317, *hymn. ap. Galen de Hipp. et Plat. dogm.* 3. 8 (v. 351 Kühn), *Apollod.* 1. 3. 5, Cornut. *theol.* 19 p. 33, 16 Lang, Luc. *de sacrif.* 6, *Iamb. vit. Pyth.* 39, Nonn. *Dion.* 9. 228 f., cp. *Pind. ap. Plut. amat.* 5, *Ap. Rhod.* 1. 859.

²⁰ Hyg. *fab. praef.* p. 12, 3 Schmidt, *Myth. Vat.* 1. 176 p. 61 Mai Iuno de suo femore Vulcanum progeniit, 1. 204 p. 72 Mai Vulcanus de semine seu femore Iunonis, 2. 40 p. 99 Mai Vulcanus de femore Iunonis fingitur natus.

²¹ Hom. *hymn. Ap.* 331 ff.

²² Stesich. *frag.* 60 Bergk *ap. et. mag.* 772, 49 ff. = *Eudoc. viol.* 932.

²³ Lact. *Plac. narr. fab.* 3. 5 = *Myth. Vat.* 1. 185 p. 63 f. Mai, 2. 180 p. 148 Mai.

²⁴ This is a view, which has slowly developed and forced its way towards recognition during the last eighty years. P. Buttmann *Mythologus* 1828 i. 22 ff. first showed that Dione was the wife of the Dodonaean Zeus, citing *schol. Od.* 3. 91 ἡ Ἡρα Διώνῃ παρὰ Δωδωναίοις, ὡς Ἀπολλοδόωρος. Then in 1846 L. Georgii in Pauly's *Real-Encycl.* iv. 540 ff. maintained that Dione, not Hera, was the original wife of Zeus; Hera was but a later form of Dione, though all three deities were of Pelasgian extraction. In 1854 E. Gerhard *Gr. Myth.* pp. 152 ff., 186 ff., contended that Zeus and Hera were originally independent deities of the Pelasgian stock, and that Hera was only gradually united with and subordinated to Zeus. In 1857 F. G. Welcker *Gr. Götterl.* i. 382 f. proposed a racial cleavage: Hera, though called Pelasgian, was really Achaeans, the genuine Pelasgian goddesses being Gaia and Dione. In 1857 also H. D. Müller *Mythol. d. gr. Stämme* pp. 247 ff. argued that Zeus and Dione the deities of the Northern or Hellenic Achaeans were combined

In the case of Zeus this is not hard to prove. One of his oldest cult-centres was Dodona, where, at least in historic times,¹ the sky-father took precedence of the earth-mother—

Ζεὺς ἦν, Ζεὺς ἔστυ, Ζεὺς ἔσσεται ὦ μέγ' ἄλλε Ζεῦ.

Γὰ καρποὺς ἀνίει, διὸ κλήζετε ματέρα Γαῖαν.²

Ge, the primaeval earth-mother was supplanted by Dione,³ the female counterpart of Zeus. Thenceforward we hear only of Zeus and Dione, never of Zeus and Hera. And Zeus is always named before Dione, the formulae being τῷ Διὶ Νάῳ καὶ τῇ Διώνῃ, Δία Νᾶον καὶ Διώναν, τῷ Διὶ τῷ Νάῳ καὶ τῇ Διώνῃ, τὸν Δία καὶ τὴν Διώναν, κ.τ.λ.⁴ Indeed Dione, though she is the legitimate partner of Zeus, is a comparatively obscure figure, largely eclipsed by her husband. The inference is that Zeus and Dione were the god and goddess of a patriarchal tribe. The same two deities reappear on the acropolis at Athens. A small marble altar with a circular hearth on its upper surface was found there, bearing a dedication in letters of Roman date Διὶ Νάῳ [κ]αὶ τῇ συνόδῳ.⁵ An altar to Dione stood just to the south of

in Thessaly with Hera the deity of the Aeolians, the result being the marriage of Zeus and Hera. In 1893 Miss J. Harrison *Class. Rev.* vii. 74 ff., accepting H. D. Müller's contention, and combining it with K. Tümpel's suggestion (*Philologus* 1891 l. 617) that Hera was the gynaeocratic partner of Herakles, urged that Zeus and Dione were Achaean divinities, Hera and her 'prince-consort' Herakles the moon-goddess and sun-god of a pre-Achaean gynaeocratic race, i.e. of the Aeolian Pelasgians. In 1903 Miss Harrison *Proleg. to the Study of Gk. Rel.* pp. 316 f. still believed that Zeus and Dione were Achaean, and that Hera was a patriarchal Pelasgian goddess, but no longer insisted on Tümpel's idea that Herakles was the husband of Hera. Latterly (Preller-Robert 1894, Farnell 1896, Gruppe 1897-1906) there has been a return to the view that we cannot get behind the union of Zeus and Hera to any more primitive arrangement.

¹ It is very possible that the earth-mother was worshipped at Dodona before the sky-father. Indeed, she may have given her name to the place (*Class. Rev.* xvii. 179). Such a cult must have been originally patriarchal, not patriarchal; and there are not wanting indications that this was so (Ephorus *ap. Strab.* 402). My point, however, is that Zeus, so soon as he appears on the scene, takes precedence of his female *πάρεδρος*.

² Paus. 10. 12. 10.

³ Strab. 329: see *Class. Rev.* xvii. 179 f.

⁴ Michel *Recueil d'inscr. grecques* 843-851. See, however, *infra* p. 371 n. 4.

⁵ A. Lolling in the *Δελτιόν ἀρχαιολογικόν* 1890 p. 145 no. 2, S. N. Dragoumes in the *Mitteil. d. deutsch. arch. Inst. zu Athen* 1897, xxii. 381. Dragoumes makes *συνόδω* = *συντρόφω*, *δομοζύγῳ*, sc. *Διώνῃ*.

the east porch of the Erechtheum in the fifth century B.C.⁶ Her priest had a special seat in the theatre in imperial times.⁷ And a couch was dedicated to her as late as the fourth century A.D.⁸ This cult of Zeus and Dione may of course have been a late importation from Dodona; but, considering the ancient connexion of Zeus *Ἐρκεῖος*⁹ and Zeus *Ῥπατος*¹⁰ with the Erechtheum, we are justified in regarding the Athenian cult of Zeus *Ναῖος* and Dione as one dating back to a remote past. Hera was never worshipped on the acropolis, and the partner of Zeus from early days was not improbably the self-effacing Dione. Here too, as at Dodona, Dione may have replaced a still earlier Ge; for between the Parthenon and the Erechtheum is a rock-cut inscription in (?accidental) anapaestic verse Γῆς Καρ|ποφόρου | κατὰ μαν|τείαν,¹¹ which has been rightly connected with Pausanias' statement that on the acropolis was 'an image of Ge praying Zeus to rain upon her.'¹² The cult of Zeus and Ge belongs to the oldest traditions of the Erechtheum; for Pandion, the father of Erechtheus,¹³ bears a name which probably stands in some relation to Zeus,¹⁴ while Kekrops, who was buried at the south-west corner of the building,¹⁵ is said to have been the first to worship Zen¹⁶ or Zeus *Ῥπατος*, on whose altar he offered cakes called *pelanoi*.¹⁷ With Zeus was coupled Ge, the mother of Kekrops,¹⁸ their joint cult being that of a patriarchal community: a

⁶ *C. I. A.* i. 174 no. 324, cp. *ib.* iv. 2, 261 no. 1550 c. See W. Judeich *Topographie von Athen* 1905 p. 253.

⁷ *C. I. A.* iii. 1. 87 no. 333.

⁸ A. Lolling in the *Δελτ.* ἀρχ. 1890 p. 145 no. 3.

⁹ Philochorus *ap. Dionys. de Dinarch.* 3 = *F.H.G.* i. 408 f. no. 146.

¹⁰ Paus. 1. 26. 5, 8. 2. 3, cp. Euseb. *prep. ev.* 10. 9. 22.

¹¹ *C. I. A.* iii. 1. 65 no. 166.

¹² Paus. 1. 24. 3. See H. Heydemann in *Hermes* 1870 iv. 381 ff.

¹³ Paus. 1. 5. 3, Hyg. *fab.* 48, *alib.*

¹⁴ Usener *Götternamen* pp. 61 ff. *Strena Helbig.* p. 322. It seems probable that Pandion, like Periphas (*Ant. Lib.* 6: *Folk-Lore* xv. 385 f.), was a human Zeus. This would accord well with the evidence collected in *Class. Rev.* xviii. 84 ff., where a parallel might have been drawn between Dion king of Laconia with his daughter Carya (*Serv. in Verg. ecl.* 8. 30) and Pandion king of Athens with the Caryatids of his palace, not to mention Prognaus (*Serv. ib.*) and Progne, Lycos daughter of Dion (*Serv. ib.*), and Lykos son of Pandion II.

¹⁵ E. A. Gardner *Ancient Athens* pp. 360 f., W. Judeich *Topographie von Athen* pp. 252 f.

¹⁶ Euseb. *prep. ev.* 10. 9. 22.

¹⁷ Paus. 8. 2. 3.

¹⁸ Hyg. *fab.* 48, cp. his epithet *γηγενής* (Roscher *Lex.* ii. 1018, 50 ff.).

valuable fragment of Philochorus¹ informs us that Kekrops was the first to erect an altar to Zeus and Ge in Attica and to ordain that the *patres familiarum* should celebrate harvest-home by feasting with their slaves. Again, we are told that Kekrops was the first to regulate primitive promiscuity, so that the old system under which children knew only their mothers, not their fathers, was superseded by marriage as we have it.² According to Varro,³ it was in the days of Kekrops that the women of Athens ceased to have a vote in the public assembly and the children to be called by their mother's name. It may reasonably be concluded that both at Dodona and at Athens Zeus and Dione were the god and goddess of a patriarchal population. Moreover, the union of Zeus and Dione was not, like that of Zeus and Hera, barren. On the contrary, from it sprang the very goddess of love, Aphrodite herself.⁴ At Dodona she was worshipped along with her parents;⁵ and at Athens the popular Aphrodite Πάνδημος was known as the daughter Διὸς καὶ Διώνης.⁶ Others reckoned Dionysos⁷ and Eros⁸ as the children of Dione.

Dione was named after Zeus. Is it possible to discover the etymological partner of Hera? Miss J. Harrison, following K. Tümpel,⁹ has suggested that it was Herakles.¹⁰ To be sure, the traditional relations of Hera to Herakles are not at first sight those of a wife to her husband. Hera was in fact notoriously hostile to Herakles. She

hindered his very birth.¹¹ She sent snakes to kill him in his cradle.¹² She drove him by a storm at sea to Cos.¹³ She fought him at Pylos.¹⁴ She reared the Nemean lion and the Lernaean hydra to destroy him.¹⁵ She made it hard for him to get the oxen of Geryones¹⁶ and the girdle of Hippolyte.¹⁷ She set the snake to guard the apples of the Hesperides and attack him.¹⁸ She laid one labour after another upon him, till he was constrained to cry: 'Zeus, whoe'er Zeus is, hath begotten me as a foe to Hera.'¹⁹ She brought his madness upon him.²⁰ Perhaps she even had a hand in his death.²¹ Nevertheless all this, as Miss Harrison saw, is explicable on the assumption that Herakles was the partner of a gynaeocratic wife, the hen-pecked husband who must go here there and everywhere at Hera's bidding. And that this was so, an attentive reading of the texts themselves will show. If Hera hindered his birth, it was in order that the prophecy of Zeus πάντας περικτιόνων ἀνάξει might not be fulfilled by Herakles at Argos,²² i.e. that a patriarchal régime might not be imposed on a matriarchal town. And all the other persecutions of Hera are summed up by Herakles in the pregnant phrase Ἡρα κρατεῖ,²³ an obvious echo of the gynaeocracy, to which he owed his very name.²⁴

The conception of Hera and Herakles as a gynaeocratic couple will gain greatly in force, if it can be proved (a) that female government has left traces of itself in the chief centres of Hera-worship, and (b) that local tradition there connects Herakles with the goddess.

Hera in the *Iliad*²⁵ declares: 'Verily three towns are far dearer to me than any others, Argos and Sparta and Mycene of the broad roads.' Argos is in fact called by

¹ Philochorus *ap.* Macrob. *Sat.* 1. 10. 22 = *F. H. G.* i. 386 no. 13.

² Tzet. *chil.* 5. 19. 650 ff.

³ Varro *ap.* Aug. *de. civ. Dei* 18. 9.

⁴ Apollod. 1. 3. 1, Ael. *de nat. an.* 10. 1. Cic. *de nat. deor.* 3. 59. Hyg. *fab. praef.* p. 12, 2 Schmidt by an inversion of the usual order says ex Dione et Iove Venus. Note too that Dione is mother of Aphrodite without a mention of Zeus in *Il.* 5. 370 f., 381, Cornut. *theol.* 24 p. 45, 2 Lang; cp. *Διωραία* of Aphrodite, and her Hellenistic identification with Dione (Escher in Pauly-Wissowa *Realencycl.* v. 879, 61 ff.). Arn. *adv. nat.* 2. 70 makes Venus daughter of Dione and Diespiter.

⁵ *Supra* p. 367. n. 6.

⁶ Plat. *symp.* 180 d.

⁷ Eur. *Antigone frag.* 177 Dindorf *ap.* schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 3. 177.

⁸ *Carm. Lat. epigr.* ii. 733 Bücheler no. 1535. 6.

⁹ *Philologus* 1891 l. 617, coupled with the erroneous suggestion that Hera-Herakles are etymologically connected with Helios.

¹⁰ *Class. Rev.* vii. 74. The same suggestion had occurred to me—indeed I had worked out the idea in some detail (including most of the points made in this paper)—before I came across Miss Harrison's article. I was glad to find myself in substantial agreement with her on a matter that must be regarded as cardinal by all students of Greek mythology.

¹¹ *Il.* 19. 95 ff.

¹² Eur. *H. F.* 1266 ff., Diod. 4. 10.

¹³ *Il.* 14. 250 ff., 15. 18 ff., schol. *Il.* 1. 590, 14. 255.

¹⁴ Eudoc. *viol.* 435, *alib.*

¹⁵ Hes. *theog.* 327 f., 313 ff.

¹⁶ Apollod. 2. 5. 10.

¹⁷ Tzet. in Lyc. *Al.* 1327.

¹⁸ Eratosth. *cat.* 1. 3, 1. 4, schol. Germ. Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 3 p. 424 van Staveren, cp. Sen. *Herc. Oet.* 74 ff.

¹⁹ Eur. *H. F.* 1263 f., cp. *ib.* 20 f., 829, 831 f., 840, 855, 1191, 1392 f., Lyc. *Al.* 1350 with Tzet. *ad loc.*

²⁰ Diod. 4. 11. ²¹ *Il.* 18. 119.

²² *Il.* 19. 95 ff.

²³ Eur. *H. F.* 1253.

²⁴ Prob. in Verg. *eccl.* 7. 61 p. 355 Lion Pindarus (= *frag.* 291 Christ) initio Alcideum nominatum, postea Herculeum dicit, ab Hera, quam Iunonem dicimus; quod eius imperiis opinionem famamque virtutis sit consecutus, cp. Diod. 1. 24, 4. 10.

²⁵ *Il.* 4. 51 f.

Pindar¹ 'the house of Hera.' It worshipped its great goddess under various titles, among them that of *Βασιλῆς*, 'the Queen.'² The divine Queen had a human representative. Ever since 'Kallithoe the key-bearer of the Olympian Queen, Argive Hera, first decked the high pillar of her mistress'³ there had been at Argos an eponymous priestess.⁴ Now one well-marked cycle of myths connected with Herakles represents him as the chief hero of Argos and the founder of the Argive dynasty.⁵ Gruppe distinguishes an earlier from a later form of these myths. According to him, Hera in the earlier myths is comparatively well disposed towards Herakles: 'she originally patronised Eurystheus, whose daughter Admeta is called her priestess. Herakles in serving Eurystheus advances the fame of mighty Hera, who at last, moved by his heroism, bestows glory upon him, gives him her daughter Hebe to wife and promises to his descendants not only the presidency of the Heraion but also lordship over the mainland and many of the islands.'⁶ It is only in later times that she persecutes him with inexorable spite.⁷ A last relic of their joint cult may be found in the lion-skin on which her statue stood.⁸

When Homer made Mycenae as well as Argos a favourite seat of Hera, he must have been thinking of the great Heraion, which lay between them, nearer to the former than to the latter. What we have said of Argos is therefore applicable to Mycenae also. Its rulers, the house of Atreus, derived from Tantalos, king of Lydia, and the Lydians were certainly gynaeocratic.⁹ Consequently the story of Agamemnon furnishes sundry indications of an ancient gynaeocracy estab-

lished at Mycenae.¹⁰ That the Aeschylean *Oresteia* turns on the conflict between motherdom and fatherdom is notorious. But it is worth while to add that expressions such as ὦδε γὰρ κρατεῖ | γυναικὸς ἀνδρόβουλον ἐλπίζον κῆαρ¹¹ or θηλυκρατὴς ἀπέρωτος ἔρως¹² find their full explanation only in the poet's consciousness that Klytaimnestra stood for the gynaeocracy. When Agamemnon says to her καὶ τᾶλλα μὴ γυναικὸς ἐν τρόποις ἐμὲ | ἄβρυνε¹³ and she replies πιθοῦ κράτος μὲν τοι πάρες γ' ἐκὼν ἐμοί,¹⁴ we get the same conception of the womanly man and the manly woman. Aigisthos too is described as a γυνή,¹⁵ while Klytaimnestra is δωμαίων τελεσφόρος | γυνὴ τόπαρχος¹⁶—a phrase coined for a gynaeocratic ruler. In this connexion I would recall a striking passage in the *Electra* of Euripides.¹⁷ Electra addresses the dead Aigisthos as follows: 'And throughout Argos they speak thus of thee—"the woman's husband," instead of saying—"the man's wife." And yet this is unseemly, that a woman rule the house, not the man: I hate those children, who bear not the name of their manly sire, but that of their mother in the town.'¹⁸

At Sparta too there were traces of the gynaeocracy. Plutarch¹⁹ relates that a stranger once said to Gorgo, the wife of Leonidas: 'You Laconians are the only women that rule men.' The stories of Spartan mothers who slew their own sons for cowardice²⁰ may or may not imply a primitive jurisdiction. But Lycurgus' inability to control the women of Sparta²¹ is certainly best explained as due to respect for the rights of motherdom.²² Aristotle, after telling us that most warlike peoples are γυναικοκρατούμενοι, continues: διὸ παρὰ τοῖς Λάκωσι τοῖθ' ὑπῆρχει, καὶ πολλὰ διωκείτο ὑπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτῶν.²³ Polybius' remarkable statements about Spartan polyandry,²⁴ Ephorus' account of the Partheniai,²⁵ and Plutarch's assertion that an ancient law forbade a Herakleid to beget

¹ Pind. *Nem.* 10. 2.

² *C. I. A.* iii. 1. 68 no. 172. 7 = Kaibel *ep.* 822. 7, 9 f. See further Gruppe *Gr. Myth.* p. 1082 n.

³ *Phoronis frag.* 4 Kinkel, *cp. Hyg. fab.* 145 Callirhoe (Knaack *ej. Callirhoe*). She was also known as Kallithyia (Plut. *ap. Euseb. prep. ev.* 3. 8, Syncell. p. 149 v, Hieronym. *chron. ann. Abr.* 376), or Kallithyia (Aristid. ii. 3, 8 with schol. *ad loc.*) or Kallithea (schol. Arat. 161) and appears to have been originally an epithet of Io (Hesych. s. v. Ἰὼ Καλλιθέσσα): *cp. Aesch. suppl.* 291 f., Apollod. 2. 1. 3, anon. *de incred.* p. 324, 22 f. Westermann.

⁴ Busolt *Gr. Gesch.* i². 152. Possibly another indication of the gynaeocracy may be found in the warlike action of the Argive women under Telesilla (Plut. *de mul. virt.* 4, Paus. 2. 20. 8 ff., Polyae. *strat.* 8. 33, *alib.*, *cp. Hdt.* 6. 77). This must be set beside the action of the Tegeate women under Choroia (Paus. 8. 48. 4 f.).

⁵ Gruppe *Gr. Myth.* p. 460 ff.

⁶ *Id. ib.* p. 461 f. ⁷ *Id. ib.* p. 480.

⁸ Tert. *de cor. mil.* 7.

⁹ Athen. 515 F f.: see Topffer in Pauly-Wissowa *Realencycl.* i. 1769, 21 ff.

¹⁰ Bachofen *Das Mutterrecht* p. 45 ff.

¹¹ Aesch. *Ag.* 10 f. ¹² *Id. cho.* 600.

¹³ *Id. Ag.* 918 f. ¹⁴ *Id. ib.* 943.

¹⁵ *Id. cho.* 304. ¹⁶ *Id. ib.* 663 f.

¹⁷ Eur. *El.* 930 ff. ¹⁸ Cp. Soph. *El.* 365 ff.

¹⁹ Plut. *v. Lyc.* 14.

²⁰ *Id. Lacen. apophth.* 240 F, 241 A.

²¹ Aristot. *pol.* 2. 9. 1269 b 19 ff., 1270 a 4 ff.

²² Cp. Bachofen *Das Mutterrecht* p. 382.

²³ Aristot. *pol.* 2. 9. 1269 b 31 f. Aristotle *ap. Plut. v. Lyc.* 14 states that Lycurgus failed to master the luxury and γυναικοκρατία of the Spartan women, who were left in charge by the men owing to their frequent campaigns and were consequently treated with undue respect and called *δέσποινα*.

²⁴ Polyb. 12. 6 b. 8.

²⁵ Ephorus *ap. Strab.* 279 f.

children of a foreigner,¹ probably hang together with the same institution. However that may be, the Spartans had a very old cult of Hera Αἰγοφάγος, about which there was a local tradition. 'They say,' writes Pausanias,² 'that Herakles founded the sanctuary and was the first to sacrifice goats, because in the fight with Hippokoön and his sons he had not been hampered by Hera, who had thwarted him, as he fancied, in all his other adventures.' So Sparta, like Argos, had a tradition of better relations between Hera and Herakles. And Spartan, like Argive, kings were Herakleids.

The same *rapprochement* appears here and there in Greek literature and art. True, the *Iliad*³ told how Herakles had shot an arrow into the right breast of Hera, and Panyassis⁴ worked the incident into his *Heraclea*. But even epic authority could not obscure certain ancient tales about the Gigantomachy. 'Porphyrion,' says Apollodorus,⁵ 'attacked Herakles and Hera in the fight. Howbeit Zeus struck him with desire for Hera, who, when he dared to rend her robes and was minded to offer her violence, cried for helpers. And Zeus hurled a bolt against him, and Herakles shot him dead with his bow.' Other versions say nothing of Zeus, but emphasise the part that Herakles played in defending Hera. According to the *Etymologicum Magnum*,⁶ Herakles 'was called Neilos⁷ from his birth, but in the war with the Giants slew a nameless Giant, who with his fiery breath was assailing Hera, and so won for himself the name of Herakles.' Sotas the Byzantine mythographer⁸ stated that Herakles became a god because he had slain the Giant Pronomos, who was attempting to force Hera. A *kylix* in the British Museum,⁹ signed by Brygos, and probably based on some Satyric drama, shows Hera similarly assaulted by four Satyrs named Styon, Hydrys, Babakkhos, and Terpon: Hermes with *petasos*, *kerykeion*, etc., warns them off, while Hera turns in terror towards her lawful protector Herakles, who, wearing beneath his lion-skin and *chiton* the tricot costume of a Scythian bowman, comes hastily to the rescue with club and bow.

¹ Plut. *v. Agis* 11.

² Paus. 3. 15. 9, Hesych. *s.v.* Αἰγοφάγος.

³ *Il.* 5. 392 ff., Lyc. *Al.* 39 f. with Tzetz. *ad loc.*

⁴ Panyassis (= *frag.* 20 Kinkel) *ap. Clem. Alex. provtr.* 36. 2 p. 31 Potter, *Ann. adv. nat.* 4. 25.

⁵ Apollod. 1. 6. 2, Eust. 989, 46 f.

⁶ *Et. mag.* p. 435, 10 ff., *cp. Phot. bibl.* p. 147 b, 16 ff.

⁷ Cp. Cic. *de nat. deor.* 3. 42.

⁸ Sotas (? Sotades) *ap. Tzetz. in Lyc. Al.* 1350.

⁹ Furtwängler-Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* i. 238 ff., pl. 47, Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 193.

Furtwängler¹⁰ points out that another *kylix* in the Berlin collection,¹¹ again probably from the hand of Brygos, gives Herakles the same singular garb in a representation of the Gigantomachy. Again, on other vases Hera extends her right hand to Herakles supporting the heavens,¹² or meets him in the garden of the Hesperides,¹³ or receives him on his return to Eurystheus with the golden apple.¹⁴

It would seem, then, that a *Verbindung*, if not actually a *Kultverbindung*, between Hera and Herakles can very well be made out on Greek soil. Nevertheless we nowhere get direct and indisputable evidence that the two were conceived by the Greeks as a pair of related deities. If now we ask ourselves where we are most likely to meet with such evidence, supposing it to exist, we shall naturally turn to that part of the Greek world in which Zeus was coupled with Dione, and *in primis* to Dodona. For here the old association of Hera with Herakles would less probably have been disturbed by the new association of Zeus with Hera. At Dodona itself there was no cult of Hera or Herakles. We must look further afield. Zeus and Dione reappear in Italy as Jupiter and Juno. Is there reason to think that in Italy Hera was linked with Herakles? The principal Hera-cult of the Italian peninsula was that of Hera Λακωία on the headland Lacinium some six miles south of Crotona. With regard to its origin different opinions were expressed. Some spoke of a king Lakinos or Lakinios, who gave his name to the promontory and founded the temple.¹⁵ Others said that Herakles on his way home from Erytheia had encountered and slain a robber Lakinos or Lakinios, and after purifying the place had founded there a temple to Hera.¹⁶ The latter version was probably current at Crotona; for coins of that town circ. 400-350 B.C. exhibit the head of Hera Λακωία on the obverse, Herakles seated on a rock with club and

¹⁰ Furtwängler *ib.* i. 240.

¹¹ Furtwängler *Beschreib. d. Vasensamml. zu Berlin* no. 2293, *id.* in Roscher *Lex.* i. 1659, 13 ff.

¹² *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iv. 71 no. F 148.

¹³ Heydemann *Die Vasensamml. des Mus. Nazion. zu Neapel* Berlin 1872 no. 2873 = Millin *Peintures de vases antiques* ed. S. Reinach Paris 1891 i. 3. Cp. Overbeck *Kunstmyth.* Hera p. 141 no. BB = Millingen *Ancient Uned. Monuments* i. pl. 3.

¹⁴ *Annali dell' Inst.* 1859 p. 297, pl. G = Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 301.

¹⁵ Schol. vet. Theocr. 4. 33, Tzetz. in Lyc. *Al.* 856, 1006, Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Λακίσιον, Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* 3. 552, *et. mag.* p. 553, 17 ff.

¹⁶ Iambl. *v. Pyth.* 50, Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* 3. 552, Diod. 4. 24.

bow on the reverse.¹ Near Crotona, then, as at Sparta, Herakles founds an ancient temple to Hera. This does not indeed amount to a *Kultverbindung*, but it points in that direction.

The interpolator of Servius' commentary on the *eclogues* of Vergil enables us to go one step further. 'When boys were born in noble families,' he says,² 'a bed was set in the

passages must be taken in connexion with a statement of the first Vatican mythographer,⁴ that 'there was a temple of Juno, in which Hercules had a table and Diana a bed: boys were brought there that they might eat off the table itself and so receive strength, and that they might sleep in the bed of Diana and thereby become more lovable in the sight of all and better able to beget children.'



FIG. 1.

atrium of the house for Juno, and a table for Hercules.' Philargyrius³ likewise states that 'when boys were born in noble families, a bed was set in the atrium for Juno Lucina, and a table for Hercules.' These

Here we have Hercules coupled with Juno Lucina or Diana,⁵ the Italian equivalents of Hera, as god and goddess of wedlock. Similarly at the first Roman *lectisternium* in 397 B.C. Hercules and Diana reclined on

¹ P. Gardner *Types of Gk. Coins* pl. 5. 43+29, pl. 6. 39+36, *Head Hist. num.* p. 82, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Gk. Coins Italy* pp. 353 f.

² Serv. in Verg. *ecol.* 4. 62.

³ Philarg. in Verg. *ecol.* 4. 63, p. 326 Lion.

⁴ Myth. Vat. 1. 177 p. 61 Mai.

⁵ On Juno Lucina = Diana see Cic. *de nat. deor.* 2. 68. Both Juno and Diana bore the name Lucina (J.B. Carter *epith. deor.* pp. 30, 49).

the same couch.¹ Again, an inscription from the territory of the Benacenses records a dedication *d(is) s(anctis) Herculi et*

infer that when, at a very early date,⁷ the cult of Herakles spread from Greece to Italy, the acknowledged partner of Herakles

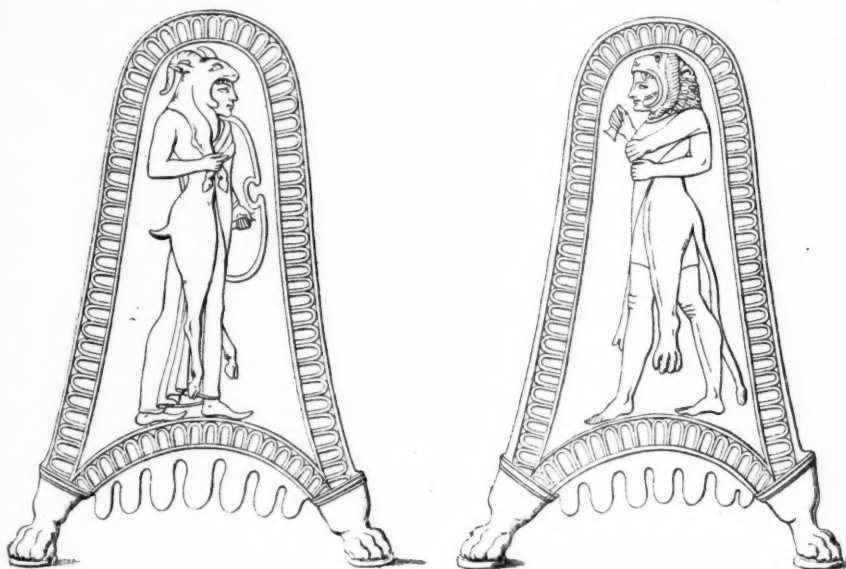


FIG. 2.

Iunonibus.² The common oath by Hercules was reserved for men only;³ women swore by their Junos.⁴ The bride's girdle was

was Hera; the former was transliterated as Hercules, the latter was translated as Juno; the two were husband and wife, and

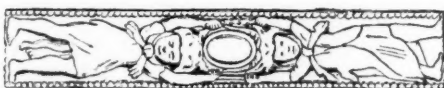


FIG. 3.

sacred to Juno Cinxia:⁵ the knot upon it, unfastened by the bridegroom on the *lectus genialis*, was known as the *nodus Herculeus*.⁶ From these ritual practices I should

their union was typical of all human marriages.

This contention is further supported by a series of archaic bronzes, etc., to which attention was first called by Reifferscheid⁸ and subsequently by R. Peter.⁹ A mirror (fig. 1) in the museum of the Collegio Romano¹⁰ shows Jupiter (IOVEI), seated on an altar, presenting Juno (IVNO) to Hercu-

¹ Liv. 5. 13. 6, cp. Warde Fowler *Roman Festivals* pp. 180 f.; Dionys. ant. Rom. 12. 9 (=Piso frag. 25 Peter) says 'Ἡρακλῆς καὶ Ἀρτέμιδι. In the lectisternium of 217 B.C. Juno was paired with Jupiter, Diana with Apollo (Liv. 22. 10. 9).

² C.I.L. v. 1. 507 no. 4854.

³ Gell. 11. 6. 1 ff.

⁴ Tib. 3. 6. 48, cp. 3. 19. 15, Juv. 2. 98 with schol. ad loc., Petr. 25. For the relations of Juno, Genius, and Jupiter see *Folklore* xvi. pp. 296. ff.

⁵ Paul. exc. Fest. p. 48 Lindemann, Mart. Cap. 2. 149, Myth. Vat. 3. 4. 3 p. 177 Mai.

⁶ Paul. exc. Fest. p. 48 Lindemann.

⁷ See Wissowa *Rel. und Kult. der Römer* pp. 219 f.

⁸ *Annali dell' Inst.* 1867 xxxix. 352 ff.

⁹ Roscher *Lec.* i. 2259 ff.

¹⁰ The figure in the text is reduced from Gerhard *Etruskische Spiegel* pl. 147.

les (HERCELE): the adjuncts leave no doubt that an actual marriage of Hercules with Juno is intended. The olive-branch in Juno's hand may have reference to the idea of fertility,¹ or purification,² or again would be appropriate to Hera,³ or to Herakles.⁴ A Praenestine *cista*⁵ has a somewhat similar scene: in the centre of a group of gods and heroes stands Diespiter (ΔΙΕΣΠΤΗΡ); to the left of him is Hercules (ΗΕΡΚΛΗΣ), to the right Juno (ΙΥΝΟ). A bronze candelabrum from Perugia⁶ (fig. 2) represents on its three-sided base Hercules, Juno Sispita, and Venus. A gold engagement- or wedding-ring (fig. 3) in the Waterton collection⁷ shows Juno Sispita holding up a lance-head (? *hasta caeliberis*) with one hand while she clasps the club of Hercules with the other, and Hercules holding up his club with one hand while he clasps Juno's lance-head with the other. The same two deities are opposed in less friendly attitudes on the handles of Etruscan mixing-bowls. One such handle⁸ has the upper part of a Satyr supporting Hercules on his right hand, Juno Sispita on his left: they are attacking one another with club and spear-head respectively. Three others show Hercules and Juno, armed in the same manner, contending for the possession of a boar,⁹ a stag,¹⁰ and a hydra.¹¹ Similarly an early Ionic vase in the British Museum depicts Hera with a goat-skin head-dress contending with Herakles in the presence of Athena and Poseidon.¹² Such representations are not adequately explained by Reifferscheid's remark 'virginem . . . suapte natura viro repugnare.' Rather they imply, as we have already seen, the hostility of the gynaeceocratic wife towards her husband.

Another reason for connecting Hera with Herakles is that the singular custom of men dressing as women and women as men¹³ is, in the Greek area, confined to the cult-

centres of these two divinities.¹⁴ At Argos during the feast of τὰ Ὑβριστακά women wore the masculine *chiton* and *chlamys*, men the feminine *peplos* and veil.¹⁵ Plutarch, after mentioning the festival and recounting an aetiological tale,¹⁶ adds immediately that the Argives, in order to increase the numbers of their male population, gave the citizenship to the noblest of their neighbours and united them with the women, who, however, seemed to dishonour and despise their husbands as inferior to themselves. Hence arose the law that bade married women wear a beard when they slept with their husbands.¹⁷ Similarly Spartan brides on the wedding night were dressed in men's *himatia* and sandals.¹⁸ Argos and Sparta are the only two towns in the Peloponnese at which such an exchange of costume is known to have been practised; and they were the principal sites of Hera-worship. Again, the Samians at their festival of Hera (τὰ Ἡραία) used to comb their hair till it hung over their back and shoulders: they wore snow-white *chitons* reaching to the ground, golden grass-hoppers in their hair, and chased jewellery of the sort called *chlidones* on their arms.¹⁹ Hesychius defines χλιδῶνες as 'an adornment that women are wont to wear about their arms and their necks.' It would seem, then, that the Samians were dressed not only as old-fashioned men, but as women, in the service of Hera. This is the more credible, since the sanctuary of the Samian Hera was sometimes said to have been founded by the Argonauts, who brought the image of the goddess from Argos.²⁰

At Cos too the Argive Hera was

position of women in ancient religion') in the *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 1904 vii. 70 ff. See also Lobeck *Aglaophamus* pp. 173 ff., Creuzer *Symbolik* ii. 361 ff.

¹⁴ The only exception appears to be that of the Athenian ὄσχοφόροι or ὠσχοφόροι, whose ritual stood in some relation to the worship of Dionysus and Ariadne (Plut. *v. Thes.* 23, Bekker *anecd. Gr.* p. 318, 22 ff.). The cult of the bearded Cyprote Ἀρροδίτη or rather Ἀρρόδιτος (Macrob. *Sat.* 3. 8. 2 f., Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* 2. 632, cp. Firm. *Mat. de error. prof. rel.* 4. 1 ff.) is more Oriental than Greek. The same may be said of the costume of the *galli* (Daremberg-Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 1456).

¹⁵ Plut. *de mul. virt.* 4, Polyæn. *strat.* 8. 33, cp. Plut. *de mus.* 9 ἐν Ἀργεὶ τὰ Ἐνδυμάντια καλοῦμενα.

¹⁶ The story of Telesilla (supra p. 372 n. 4), which reminds us that Hera at Argos was decidedly warlike, a bronze shield being the prize at her festival τὰ Ἡραία (Pind. *Nem.* 10. 22 f., schol. vet. Pind. *Ol.* 7. 152, Aeneas *tact.* 1. 17, Zenob. 2. 3. 6. 52, C.I.G. 234, 1068, *alib.*).

¹⁷ Plut. *de mul. virt.* 4.

¹⁸ *Id.* *v. Lyc.* 15.

¹⁹ Asius (=frag. 13 Kinkel) *ap.* Athen. 525e f.

²⁰ Paus. 7. 4. 4.

¹ Daremberg-Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iv. 165 s.v. 'olea,' cp. Pauly-Wissowa *Realencycl.* i. 62, 59 ff., Gruppe *Griech. Mythol. u. Religionsgesch.* p. 880.

² Verg. *Aen.* 6. 229 ff.

³ Paus. 5. 16. 2 f.

⁴ Aristot. *mir. ausc.* 51, Paus. 2. 31. 10.

⁵ *Monumenti inediti dall' Inst.* 1861 vi. pl. 54.

⁶ Micali *Antichi Monumenti* ed. 2 pl. 29, nos. 7, 8, 9. The figure in the text is rearranged and reduced from Micali, *ib.* ed. 1 pl. 16, nos. 7, 8.

⁷ The illustration is from *Annali dell' Inst.* 1867 xxxix. pl. H no. 1.

⁸ Micali *Monumenti inediti* pl. 21 no. 5.

⁹ *Monumenti inediti dall' Inst.* v. pl. 52.

¹⁰ *Ib.* ¹¹ Mus. Gregor. i. pl. 61, no. 8.

¹² *Brit. Mus. Cat. Gk. Vases* no. B 57.

¹³ The best collection of evidence bearing on the point occurs in a valuable paper by Dr. L. R. Farnell ('Sociological hypotheses concerning the

worshipped as 'Queen' (Βασίλεια)¹ and there was an important cult of Herakles, in whose temple marriages were celebrated, different buildings being set apart for the use of the two sexes.² At Halasarna in Cos none might take part in the festival of Herakles (τὰ Ἡράκλεια) unless they were enrolled along with the names of their father, their mother, and their mother's father;³ and a list of worshippers drawn up in accordance with this matrilineal rule is extant.⁴ At the neighbouring town of Antimacheia the priest of Herakles was dressed as a woman and wore a *mitra* on his head, when he sacrificed.⁵ The explanatory myth told how Herakles made a raid on Cos and tried to steal a ram from a stalwart shepherd Antagoras. Thereupon the Hellenes and the Meropes came to blows. Herakles wearied with the fight fled to a certain Thracian⁶ woman and concealed himself in feminine costume. Afterwards he vanquished the Meropes, married the daughter of Alkiopos, and wore a flowered robe (στολὴν ἀνθινήν). Hence the priest sacrifices on the site of the battle, and bridegrooms are clothed in women's robes when they receive their brides.⁷ The name of Alkiopos' daughter is not given; but the mention of her στολὴ ἀνθινή is suggestive of Hera herself, who was worshipped at Argos as Hera 'Ανθεία⁸ with a festival of Spring Flowers (Ἡροσάνθεια).⁹ Lilies in particular were said to have sprung from Hera's milk, when she suckled the infant Herakles;¹⁰ and it is noteworthy that the lily called *ambrosia* sprang from the head of a statue of Alexander (? in his character of Herakles) in Cos.¹¹

¹ Dittenberger² ii. 407 no. 617, 6.

² *Id.* ii. 577 ff. no. 734.

³ *Id.* ii. 397 no. 614, 29 ff.

⁴ Paton and Hicks *Inscr. of Cos* p. 236, no. 368.

⁵ Imperial coins of Cos show a veiled female figure resting on a sceptre and holding a *patera* over a lighted altar (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Gk. Coins* Caria, etc. p. 219 pl. 33, 11): this was interpreted by Eckhel as the priest of Herakles (Head *hist. num.* p. 537).

⁶ The temple of Herakles at Erythrae possessed an ancient image of Herakles, which had floated from Tyre on a raft and had been towed ashore by a rope made of the hair of the Thracian women at Erythrae: hence they were the only women allowed to enter the temple (Paus. 7. 5. 5 ff.).

⁷ Plut. *quæst. Gr.* 58.

⁸ Paus. 2. 22. 1, *et. mag.* p. 108, 47, Suid. s.v. 'Ανθεία, *et. Gud.* p. 57, 47, Schöll-Studemund *anecd. varia* i. 269, cp. 278, 283.

⁹ Hesych. s.v., cp. Phot. s.v. 'Ἡροσάνθεια, Poll. 4. 78 τὰς 'Ανθεσφόροις ἐν 'Ηρᾷ, *et. mag.* 409, 32 f. where the Argive king calls the crops ἀνθεα 'Ηρας.

¹⁰ Geopon. 11. 19.

¹¹ Nicander *ap. Athen.* 684E, cp. Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* i. 128 n. b.

It looks as though the Coan Herakles and Hera had been king and queen of the May,¹² united in a ἱερὸς γάμος comparable with that of Zeus and Hera elsewhere. In Lydia too Herakles exchanged clothes with Omphale, the gynæcocratic¹³ queen in whose service he performed a series of labours like those that he achieved for Eurystheus.¹⁴ He took upon him her purple robe,¹⁵ her *mitra*,¹⁶ necklace,¹⁷ bracelet,¹⁸ girdle,¹⁹ and distaff,²⁰ being, as Propertius²¹ says, an *apta puella*: she wore his lion-skin and carried his club and arrows²²—in fact, as Ovid puts it, *vir illa fuit*.²³ K. Tümpel contends that 'Hebe und Omphale in Süd und Nord sind Parallel Figuren, Hera-Heroïnen'²⁴ and that 'Herakles neben Omphale nur eine Erscheinungsform des Helios neben der Hera ist'.²⁵ But this identification of Omphale with Hera, though possible, is far from certain. Joannes Lydus informs us that at the mysteries of Herakles, which were held in the spring, men wore women's clothing, and that the custom had a sexual significance.²⁶

The real meaning of the widespread practice of men and women exchanging clothes is not known. It is, however, a legitimate conjecture that it arose at the transition from the matriarchal to the patriarchal stage of society, and was intended to mark the transference of the woman's rights to the man, of the man's to the woman. Be that as it may, the connexion of the practice on Greek soil with the cult-centres of Hera and Herakles is a further proof that the former stood to the latter as wife to husband.

We arrive, then, at the following conclusion. Hera and Herakles were a matriarchal pair of deities corresponding to the patriarchal pair Zeus and Dia or Dione. Their relative importance may be thus expressed:

¹² Cp. Frazer on Paus. 2. 22. 1.

¹³ *Sappho* p. 372 n. 9^a.

¹⁴ Apollod. 2. 6. 3.

¹⁵ Lucian *dial. deor.* 13, *Ov. fast.* 2. 319, *her.* 9. 101, *Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb.* 10. 648, *Prop.* 4. 9. 47, cp. *Anth. Pal.* 6. 358 *Diotimos eis κύπασσιν τὸν 'Ομφάλην*.

¹⁶ *Ov. her.* 9. 63.

¹⁷ *ib.* 57.

¹⁸ *ib.* 59.

¹⁹ *ib.* 65 f., *Prop.* 4. 9. 49.

²⁰ *Sen. Herc. Oet.* 375 f., *Prop.* 4. 9. 48, *Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb.* 10. 648, *Myth. Vat.* 2. 155 p. 141 Mai, cp. 3. 13. 1 p. 269 Mai.

²¹ *Prop.* 4. 9. 50.

²² *Ov. fast.* 2. 325, *her.* 9. 103 ff.

²³ *Ov. her.* 9. 106. For the evidence of painting, sculpture, pottery, gems, and coins, see Sieveking in *Roscher Lex.* iii. 888 ff.

²⁴ *Philologus* 1891 i. 616.

²⁵ *ib.* 619, also in *Roscher Lex.* iii. 885 ff.

²⁶ *Lyd. de mens.* 4. 67 p. 120, 10 ff. Wünsch.

Herakles ~ Hera
Zeus ~ Dia or Dione.

I conceive that a patriarchal tribe worshipping Zeus and Dia or Dione was, by invasion or otherwise, amalgamated with a matriarchal tribe worshipping Hera and Herakles. This fusion of population entailed a consequent fusion of cults. Zeus the principal deity of the patriarchal people was united to Hera the principal deity of the matriarchal people, their union being ever afterwards celebrated as the *ἱερός γάμος* of Zeus and Hera. Euripides in his *Hercules Furens*¹ makes Amphitryon exclaim:—

ὦ Ζεῦ, παρ' Ἡρας ἄρ' ὁρᾷς θρόνων τάδε;—

as though Zeus reigned in virtue of his union with Hera. Indeed, bowing to matriarchal custom, Zeus dressed as a bride for the occasion. A terra-cotta group from Samos shows Zeus and Hera seated side by side: the god, like the goddess, wears a veil.² R. Förster's identification of the scene as that of the *ἱερός γάμος*³ has been widely and rightly accepted.⁴ Beyond all doubt is the picture of the *ἱερός γάμος* found at Pompeii, in which again Zeus, like Hera, wears the veil.⁵ And other representations of Zeus with a veil⁶ may be interpreted in the same way. Martianus Capella describes the veil of Jupiter as *velamen rutilans*.⁷ Is not this the *flammeum* appropriate to the bridegroom of gynaeocratic Hera? If, however, we maintain that the Jupiter of Martianus Capella is purely Etruscan,⁸ we have yet to reckon with the fact that the Etruscans were, if not matriarchal, at least matrilineal.⁹

Not only did Zeus forsake Dia or Dione to marry Hera, while Hera forsook Herakles to marry Zeus, but the two jilted deities made a match of it. Herakles married Dia; for it will be remembered that Dia was the earlier name of Hebe,¹⁰ the consort

of Herakles in historical times. In other words, Zeus and Herakles exchanged wives, so that, instead of Zeus ~ Dia and Hera ~ Herakles, succeeding generations recognised Zeus ~ Hera and Herakles ~ Dia. Never, surely, was there a more amicable arrangement! Perhaps the nearest approach to it in the realm of Greek mythology was the love of Zeus for Ixion's wife Dia,¹¹ and of Ixion for Zeus's wife Hera.¹²

ARTHUR BERNARD COOK.

(To be continued.)

RECENT EXCAVATIONS IN ROME,

(SEE C.R. 1906, P. 132.)

SINCE my last note was written there has been comparatively little excavation done in the Forum: but the removal of the Director's offices to the new museum in the monastery of S. Francesca Romana has now rendered possible the continuation of the exploration of the Basilica Aemilia, and this will shortly be undertaken.

With regard to the inscription

L·NAEVIVS·L·F· NVS·I

it belongs without doubt to the same personage who set up the slab bearing the inscription L·Naevius L·F· Surdinus *pr(aetor) inter civis et peregrinos*, on the back of which is carved the relief of Curtius (C.I.L. vi. 1468; C.R. 1904, 330), and the vertical stroke may be the beginning of a P. We have the inscription (C.I.L. vi. 1278 M. Cispus L·F· *Pr(aetor)*), of another man who gives himself the title of praetor only, which belongs to about the same date, and was found on the steps of the column of Phocas (under which lay the greater part of the new inscription of Naevius Surdinus) in 1811.

A comparison of Cicero's and Pliny's versions of the same story (*De Oratore*, ii. 266, *ut meum*—Caesar Strabo is speaking—*illud in Helvium Manciam 'iam ostendam cuius modi sis' cum ille 'ostende, quaeso'; demonstravi digito victum Gallum in Mariano scuto Cimbrico sub novis distortum, eiecta lingua, buccis fluentibus: H.N. xxxv. 25. hinc enim ille Crassi oratoris lepos agentis sub Veteribus; cum testis compellatus instaret: 'dic ergo, Crasse, qualem me noris?' 'talem,' inquit, ostendens in tabula inficetissime Gallum ezerentem linguam.*)

¹¹ II. 14. 317.

¹² See *Class. Rev.* xvii. 420.

¹ Eur. *H. F.* 1127.

² Overbeck *Kunstmythol.* Zeus pp. 20, 251, Hera p. 24 f. fig. 4a, Farnell *Cults of the Gk. States* i. 115 pl. V b.

³ Förster *Die Hochzeit des Zeus und der Hera* Breslau 1867 pp. 24 f.

⁴ See e.g. J. A. Hild in Daremberg-Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 674 fig. 4167.

⁵ Baumeister *Denkmäler* iii. 2133 fig. 2390 = *Class. Rev.* xvii. 414 fig. 9, Förster *op. cit.* pp. 35 ff.

⁶ Overbeck *Kunstmythol.* Zeus pp. 239 f. 251 ff.

⁷ Mart. Cap. 1. 66. In the Pompeian fresco Hera's veil is white, that of Zeus violet (Baumeister *Denkmäler* iii. 2132 f.).

⁸ C. Thulin *Die Götter des Martianus Capella* Gieszen 1906 pp. 5 f., cp. pp. 24, 31 ff., 66.

⁹ Müller-Deecke *Etrusker* i. 276, 508, J. Martha in Daremberg-Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 822, Bachofen *Das Mutterrecht* pp. 12, 92, 274, 293.

¹⁰ *Supra* p. 367.

shows that the *tribunal praetorium* stood in front of the *tabernae veteres*, i.e. in front of the Basilica Julia, with a view towards the *tabernae novae*, which lay in front of the Basilica Aemilia, and Professor Hülsen therefore conjectured, at a recent meeting of the German Institute (cf. the French version of his work on the Forum, p. 148), that the three inscriptions of which we have spoken have some connexion with it.

Close to it was the statue of Marsyas (Hor. Sat. i. 6. 120, etc.) and the three sacred trees, the fig, the olive, and the vine (Plin. H.N. xv. 78), and the foundation of the square enclosure in which they stood may perhaps be still preserved to us, between the inscription of Naevius and the *plutei* of Trajan.

Professor Mau's paper on the Rostra has now appeared in the *Römische Mitteilungen* (1905, 230-266), and I must say that his arguments seem to me to be convincing. He follows the view of Nichols that the hemicycle is earlier than the Rostra of opus quadratum, and accepts the advance of Richter on this view, that the curved structure was itself the Rostra of Caesar (C.R. 1904, 140), bringing a number of new arguments to support his theory. The objection that the hemicycle is too narrow to have ever served as the Rostra is met by the consideration that it was originally wider, and that it was only made narrow when the flight of steps at the back was put in to serve as an approach to the new Rostra of opus quadratum. He demonstrates, successfully I think (though further excavation might result in certainty), that the state of things at the point of contact on the side of the Arch of Severus proves the priority of the hemicycle: and that the existence of a gate or railing on this side, supposed by those who believe that the hemicycle was constructed later as one side of a courtyard (Hülsen, *Röm. Mitt.* 1905, 16 sqq.; *Roman Forum*, 76), cannot be rightly inferred from the holes in the marble plinth of the rectangular Rostra, which is now seen standing independently.

He also shows that the arrangement of the slabs of *porta santa* marble on the front of the hemicycle postulates the existence of the other half of the curve, which is further vouched for by the presence all through the concrete core (not only in the N. E. half, where alone the marble facing is preserved) of several layers of travertine chips, corresponding in level with the foundation of the plinth and the plinth itself.

More recently Comm. Boni's attention has

been devoted to the investigation of the base of the Column of Trajan.

Dio Cassius (lxix. 2) and other writers tell us that the ashes of the emperor, after his death in Cilicia in 117 A.D., were conveyed to Rome for burial, and placed within a golden urn, which was deposited in the column. Recent writers, such as Lanciani (*Ruins and Excavations*, 319), Richter (*Topographie*, 116), and Platner (*Ancient Rome*, 272) had denied that there was any chamber in the base: but a very little work was sufficient to prove its existence: and it turned out not to have been so very long ago filled in, for, on the lintel of the doorway leading to the chamber itself (which is approached by a small corridor entered by a door opposite to that which leads to the stairs to the top of the column) was the inscription 'Radel 1764.' It is, indeed, somewhat surprising that its existence should not have been recognized: for, besides the fact that the ancient window which lighted it was always visible on the W. side of the column, plans of the chamber may be found in two engravings of the *Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae* published by Antoine Lafréry about the middle of the sixteenth century (Nos. 94 and 95¹ of the copy described in Bernard Quaritch's Rough List No. 135, p. 122), in Bartoli's *Colonna Traiana*, (dedicated to Louis XIV) not long after 1667, in which year the making of casts by his order began, the scaffolding for which was made use of by Bartoli to draw the reliefs in detail, and in Piranesi's *Colonna Traiana*, dedicated to Clement XIII (1758-1769). I should add that Comm. Boni's discovery was made independently of these sources of information.

The chamber was filled up with solid concrete, no doubt from fears for the stability of the column at some time before 1838, when Nibby (*Roma nell' anno* 1838, Parte Antica, ii. 188) wrote that he considered that there were distinct traces of the entrance to it. The doorway was later covered with plaster, so that its presence would not have been easily detected. The filling up of the chamber was justified, inasmuch as, in the foundation of one course of travertine blocks (themselves resting on concrete) a large hole had been made, no doubt by searchers for the golden urn, and had been used for burials, no doubt at the time when the little church of S. Niccolò de Columna stood at the foot of the column.

¹ In the latter the plan of the base is shown reversed. Labacco, in his *Libro appartenente a l'Architettura* (1552) Pl. 12, gives a reduced copy of it, reversed again, so that the position is correct.

Of this church we first hear in a document of the twelfth century, and it was destroyed by Paul III. in 1536 (Armellini, *Chiese di Roma*, 167).

The question of the continuation of the Via Cavour towards the Piazza Venezia is one that interests archaeologists, inasmuch as the new street must pass through some part of the Forum of Trajan and either through or close to the areas of others of the imperial Fora.

Five projects have already been presented, the best of which seems to be that of Signor Tolomei, who proposes to bring the new street from the Tor dei Conti along the outside of the Forum of Augustus on the N.E. and so to the Forum of Trajan. It would perhaps then be best, as Professor Lanciani suggested in a recent lecture on the subject, not to attempt to carry the new street further, but to lower the level almost or quite down to that of the Forum of Trajan, and so pass through it without prejudicing excavation in the future.

This would, however, be more costly than another, that of Signori Crimini and Testa, which would simply be to follow the line of the present Via di Marforio, running just below the monument to Victor Emmanuel (as far as the N. angle of which the road is already half made) and keeping along the S.W. edge of the imperial fora, without touching them. From the Arch of Severus, however, which would thus be reached, it would be necessary to carry the road on a bridge in front of the Curia, which would spoil the appearance of that part of the Forum entirely.

Nothing has, however, been definitely decided as yet. Another important problem, to my mind, is the question of the road crossing the Forum Romanum itself. The present viaduct is ugly, and cuts off the buildings immediately below the Tabularium from the rest of the Forum: while from a practical point of view it is narrow, and involves awkward turns: and I am not disinclined to think that a better effect might be produced by an open iron bridge, which, though inevitably ugly, would not cut the Forum into two parts. Its exact position would depend on the solution decided upon for the problem of the Via Cavour.

THOMAS ASHBY, JUNIOR.

BRITISH SCHOOL, ROME.
June 1906.

GARDNER'S GREEK SCULPTURE.

IN noticing the second edition of this work (*Class. Rev.* xx. p. 284) I felt it necessary to call attention to the defectiveness of the illustrations. I am now informed that the defects are due to the accident that the blocks had become corroded, and that their state was not reported until the edition had been printed off. It is satisfactory to be assured that the motive of economy did not enter into the matter; that such a motive could be imputed as a possible alternative to the actual one of carelessness was due to the ever-increasing output of cheaply and badly illustrated manuals of art.

G. F. HILL.

MONTHLY RECORD.

ASIA MINOR.

Miletus.—The following is a summary of the chief results of excavations from Oct. 1903 to Dec. 1905. An inscription, restored from fragments, gives information as to a Milesian Guild of Dancers and records a procession from Miletus to Didyma. Mention is made of a shrine of Hekate 'before the gates,' of 'the broad way,' and of a paean sung '*κατὰ Κεραύηνην παρὰ Χαρίτω ἀνδριάντων*.' These statues are evidently the seated figures now in the British Museum. In the Delphinium three distinct building periods can be traced. To the first, the archaic, belong a square altar, a round base with a *boustrophedon* inscription recording a dedication by two *Prytaneis* to Hekate, and three round altars, two of which are dedicated to Zeus Soter and Artemis respectively. The second period, the Hellenistic, is noteworthy chiefly for the lists of eponymous magistrates ranging from 523–260 B.C. Important light is also thrown on the relations of Miletus with its colonies—Kyzikos, Olbia, and Apollonia on Rhyndakos. The third building period dates from the second century A.D. The early-Ionic temple of Athena has yielded very important material for the history of pottery. The oldest fragments show a clear connection with the declining Mycenaean Age. These are followed by geometrical fragments (akin to the Boeotian type) and Rhodian pottery, the latter in many cases of the Fikellura style. The statues of the Muses mentioned in the June Number of the *Class. Rev.* were discovered in the baths erected originally by Faustina the Younger and subsequently restored by Makarios in the

third century A.D. The statues probably date from the second century A.D. An important vaulted building has been excavated on the S. slope of the Theatre-Hill. It is a Heroon of some distinguished personage of Hellenistic date. The difficulties which have hitherto stood in the way of the excavation of the temple at Didyma have now been surmounted and the work has actually been started.¹

Aphrodisias (Caria).—In 1905 attention was directed chiefly to the excavation of the baths. An inscription on the architrave of the E. Portico reads: 'Ἡ Ἀφροδείτη Αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι Τραυ[α]νῶ Ἀδρι[α]νῶ Σεβαστῶ Ὀλυμ[π]ίῳ Παν[ελ]λην[ν]ίῳ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ τὸν ἐπιφερόμενον τοῖς κίοσιν καὶ ταῖς κεφαλαῖς λε. . . Several marble statues of the Roman Period have been discovered in a remarkable state of preservation. They include the draped figure of a priestess with headdress of the type of *Julia Titi*, two heads of Aphrodite with a hole at the top for the insertion of a *polos*, and two consoles decorated with sculptured heads of Zeus and Perseus respectively.²

Samos.—At Tigani, which occupies the site of the old harbour at Samos, two remarkable statues have been found. One represents a man of heavy build standing with the left foot advanced. The figure is dressed in the style of the seated figures from Branchidae in the British Museum, to which it is evidently closely related. The other is a figure seated on a throne. The style of drapery resembles that of the first statue, but the head is missing. On the left side of the throne is the following inscription, written στοιχιδόν in five lines:

Ἀεάκης ἀνέθηκεν
ὁ Βρύωνος: ὅς τῃ
Ἦρῃ: τὴν σύλῃν: ἔ-
πρησεν: κατὰ τὴν
ἐπίστασιν.

This Aeakes may be identical with the father of the tyrant Polykrates (cf. Herod.

ii. 182). The interpretation of the inscription is uncertain. Perhaps it may be translated: 'Dedicated by Aeakes son of Bryson who exacted (a tenth of) the spoil for Hera, according to his office as ἐπιστάτης.' The figure, though obviously akin to the Branchidae statues, shows an advance upon them in style.³

CRETE.

Knossos.—Dr. Evans has carried on his examination of the ancient street leading from the N.W. of the palace and has ascertained that it was flanked on both sides by store-chambers. These have yielded a mass of inscribed tablets. On this road was discovered a small palace in which the steps leading to an upper story are still partially preserved.

Palaikastro.—Members of the British School have conducted excavations on the site of the Dictaeon temple of Zeus. Above remains of the 'Kamares' period the various strata succeeded one another with great regularity up to the 6th. cent. B.C. Terracotta antefixes with Gorgoneia and slabs with designs of warriors and quadrigae in relief belong to a wooden temple of that century. In the temenos many votive offerings have been found, comprising vases, lamps, bronze shields, and a bronze lion. The lower strata were very rich in Mycenaean objects, among which were sculptured stone vessels and ivory plaques ornamented with engraved linear designs. The pre-Mycenaean period is represented by fine 'Kamares' vases, terracotta *bucrania*, and a mass of ox-bones, the presence of the last pointing to the existence of a cultus-shrine. Further inland a two-chambered house was explored and found to contain vessels of stone and primitive pottery of the same type as that found in the first city at Troy. The presence of obsidian points to early commercial intercourse with Melos.⁴

F. H. MARSHALL.

¹ *Arch. Anz.* 1906, part 1.

² *Acad. des Inscri.*, March-April, 1906.

³ *Athen. Mitt.* 1906, parts 1 and 2.

⁴ *Arch. Anz.* 1906, part 2.

SUMMARIES OF PERIODICALS.

Revue de Philologie. Vol. 29. No. 2.

The evidence of ancient Christian literature on the authenticity of a *ὑπερὶ ἀναστάσεως* attributed to Justin the Apologist, G. Archambault. The evidence is very weak. *Studies on Plautus Asinaria*. I. On scenes I, II, and construction in general, Louis

Havet. *Hyperides contra Athenogenem*, col. I. 14, P. Foucart. Read *ἰονη[ν]αν*. *Critical Studies on Lactantius*, Paul Monceaux. Name; life; literary chronology: lost and apocryphal works: L. and *de Mortibus persecutorum*: L. and the poem on the Phoenix. *On the hippodrome at Olympia*, Camille

Gaspar. Discussion of a metrological fragment first published by H. Schoene in which its various dimensions are given. *Études Latines* viii. On some passages of the *Amphitryon*, Félix Gaffiot. On 861-82; 576 and 769: 891-6. *Pompa Diaboli*, Salomon Reinach, a reply to Mr. de Alès. *Epigraphical notes on inscriptions of Magnesia by the Maecander*, J. de Decker. *Bulletin bibliographique*.

No. 3.

Studies on Plautus Asinaria. II. *Corrections of the text*, L. Havet. Emendations of 3, 20, 59, [61], 64, 76-9, 85, 93-5, 97-8, [100], 103, 105, 109, 126, 142-3, 145, 156-7, 161, 167, 182-7, 191-5, 198, [199], 203, 205, 217-8, 224-5, 244, 250-6, 263, 275, [278], 280, 292, 301, 308-17, 320, 325, 330-2, 347-8, 354, 363-4, 379. *The musical fragment of Oxyrhynchus* (Grenfell and Hunt, IV. pap. 667), C. E. Ruelle. *On Plautine Metric*, Georges Romain. In the 4th foot of the iambic trimeter and the 5th of the trochaic septenarius the 'thesis' is never formed by an iambic word with shortened final or by a word which would be iambic in position (e.g. *bonus*) or by two shorts which are not part of the same word: further, contractions such as *mi* (*mihī*) are not permitted. Exceptions in the *Amphitryon* and elsewhere are examined.—Archaic forms like *siem*, *duim*, etc. and infinitives in *-ier* are only regularly admitted in two places. (1) In the third foot of the trochaic septenarius 'quand le quatrième temps marqué tombe sur une finale et qu'une coupe trochaïque est visible après le cinquième pied.' Here they are rare. (2) In the antepenultimate foot in trimeters and trochaic septenarii. Here they are frequent. Exceptions are examined.—The proceusmatic is only permissible in certain parts of the verse, which are

enumerated.—*Inscriptions relating to Didymi*. B. Haussoullier. Details of the construction and cost of the temple of Apollo at D. *Bulletin bibliographique*.

No. 4.

The employment of diminutives by Catullus, P. de Labriolle. *Theocritus as an imitator of Sophron*, Edmond Faral. *Anchurus*, P. Roussel. This name of a son of Midas is to be restored in Anth. Pal. xv. 25 $\mu\eta\tau' \text{ } \Lambda\gamma\chi\alpha\iota\acute{o}\upsilon$ | $\pi\lambda\acute{\iota}\nu\theta\alpha\iota\varsigma$ for $\mu\eta\tau\epsilon\tau\alpha\gamma\chi\alpha\iota\acute{o}\upsilon$ which is unmetrical. *Kélmis én sídhrw*, the same. An explanation of an obscure proverb and legends connected with the mysteries of Samothrace. On Scaliger's correction in Tibullus i. 2. 65, 66. A Cartault, *fuit* for *fuit* is a permissible form, and makes the poem, the relations of which to other poems of Tibullus are examined, intelligible. *De carmine quod est inter Horatiana IV. viii*, Mortimer Lamson Earle. Maintains the spuriousness of the poem on the ground of un-Horatian assonances of endings. *The origin of the name Phoenicia*, Isidore Lévy. *Φοινίκη* was the oldest name of Caria and thence transferred to the Syrian littoral. *Two passages of Plautus*, Félix Gaffiot. Emendations of *Miles* 435-9 and *Truc.* 826-31. On *Epinomis*, 987 C, J. Bidez. *Ἥλιος* ($\alpha\sigma\tau\eta\rho\eta$), not $\kappa\rho\acute{o}\nu\upsilon\varsigma$, should be read. *Psellus and the commentary of Proclus on the Timaeus*, J. Bidez. Psellus is a wholesale borrower from Proclus. On *Minucius Felix* Oct., F. Préchac. Suggestions on iv. 3, xxiv. 2, xxxiv. 9. On the same xix. 9, 10, P. Mélan, On the same v. 2-3, 8, xxxv. 1, J. de Decker. *De Titulo Ionico*, Bruno Keil. On an inscription on an offering to the Apollo of Didymi published by B. Haussoullier. *Bulletin bibliographique*.

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- Wilcken* (Ulrich), see *Mitteis* (Ludwig).

CORRIGENDA TO THE JULY NUMBER.

- P. 293b (note on Lysias 12, 11, l. 4). *Dele comma between ἀγαπᾶν and δεῖσθαι*
- P. 298a, l. 7. *For οἱ δοῦλοι read τοὺς δούλους.*
- P. 320a (4th par. from end). *After 'help towards' add 'their solution.'*